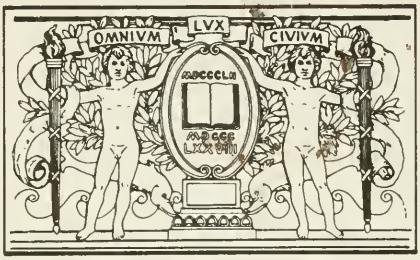

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THE CHINESE WAR

1860

LONDON
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NARRATIVE

OF THE

WAR WITH CHINA IN 1860

TO WHICH IS ADDED THE ACCOUNT
OF A SHORT RESIDENCE WITH THE TAI-PING REBELS AT NANKIN AND A
VOYAGE FROM THENCE TO HANKOW

BY

LIEUT.-COLONEL G. J. WOLSELEY,

90TH LIGHT INFANTRY

D. A. Quarter-Master-General to the Expeditionary Force

LONDON

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1862

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DEDICATION.

TO

LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR HOPE GRANT, G.C.B.

&c. &c. &c.

My dear General,

It is with a deep sense of the honour you have done me, that I avail myself of your kind permission to dedicate the following pages to you.

I could wish that they were more worthy of being presented to the public in conjunction with your name, and had something further to recommend them than the accuracy of statement which, I regret to say, constitutes their sole claim to favourable notice.

For my professional comments I must claim your indulgence; but as my Narrative was hastily written in China, as events occurred, and has been only partially revised since then, I trust that you will regard its defects with leniency, and

Believe me to be,

My dear General,

Yours very faithfully,

GARNET J. WOLSELEY.

Army and Navy Club:
London: *October* 1861.

PREFACE.

The following narrative was originally written for my own amusement, and partly in the form of a journal. Upon my return from China I was requested by several friends to have it printed for general circulation, but refused to do so, hoping that others, better qualified for such a task, would undertake to make known their experiences of the late war. I felt reluctant, also, to publish comments upon persons and events, which — dotted down from day to day, *currente calamo*, whilst the impressions were fresh in my mind — might possibly, I feared, be misunderstood by many, and perhaps offend some. As no account of the campaign has been published, my scruples have been overcome, and I now give the following pages to the public: in doing so, however, I wish it to be understood that all the opinions — whether military or otherwise — expressed therein, are entirely my own, and that no other person is in

the smallest degree responsible for them. Although I have endeavoured throughout to abstain from personalities, yet, as in writing of a war like that of 1860, where the various departments of our army and navy were brought into such intimate relations with the similar services of our allies, and were all working in conjunction with the embassies of both nations, it would be impossible to please every one, I must throw myself, therefore, upon the mercy of any whom I may have unconsciously offended.

The chapter detailing my experiences of the Taiping rebels, no doubt contains much that will be objected to by those, who, prejudiced in favour of that cause, will not be easily induced to alter their preconceived notions on the subject, or to give credence to accounts which fail to tally with them. No one is more deeply interested in the cause of Christianity than myself; but, granting, for sake of argument, that the religion of the Gospel and that of Tien-wan is one and the same thing, I cannot see how its truths are to be enforced at the point of the bayonet. Such a system is surely antagonistic to the precepts inculcated by Him who came preaching peace on earth and good-will towards men. In my opinion a fair field for missionary work in China can only be obtained by a general extension of our commercial relations throughout the length and breadth of the empire. To such Tien-wan and his chiefs are as

much opposed as ever the Imperial Government has been. Were the rebels in possession of undisturbed sovereign power, there is every reason for supposing that their external policy would be as obstructive as that pursued by Yeh and his predecessors at Canton. Judging of the rebellion by its present effects upon the country, none but men of the most sanguine temperament can expect any eventual benefit, political or otherwise, to accrue from its general success; whereas all must allow that its suppression would not only stay the hand of the murderer, and restore devastated provinces to their former prosperous condition, but would revive the commerce of the country, which is fast dying out under the depressing influences of internecine war. The history of our past relations with China shows, that upon many occasions when the grossest insults had been offered to our flag, and exorbitant impositions made upon trade, an appeal to arms has been prevented by the pressure brought to bear upon our authorities by the all-powerful influence of our commercial community. "After me the deluge," is a maxim which many Englishmen adhere to in the most selfish manner. Every one of any lengthened experience in China knows well that a permanent commerce with it can only be secured by an acknowledgement of equality between us and its rulers, and by inspiring them with a wholesome dread of the consequences

which the disruption of such a commerce would entail. Notwithstanding the general acceptance of this truth, there are many, who, as long as they can procure the maintenance of peace during their speculative sojourn in China, care little how much such a policy may complicate affairs, or strangle commercial prospects for the future. With regard, however, to the Tai-ping rebellion, our merchants in China are unanimously in favour of its forcible suppression.

The only people, therefore, who can with any reason object to our aiding the Imperialists, are those who have hitherto imagined that, by doing so, we should be obstructing a Christian movement. That such is an erroneous view of the case I have endeavoured to prove in my concluding chapters, and should I succeed in convincing any in this matter, I shall have gained one of my chief objects in publishing the following pages.

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NARRATIVE

OF THE

WAR WITH CHINA IN 1860.

CHAPTER I.

ARRIVAL OF THE EXPEDITIONARY ARMY AT HONG-KONG. — FORMATION OF A CAMP AT KOWLOON. — PREPARATIONS FOR THE CAMPAIGN. — BRITISH ULTIMATUM TO THE PEKIN GOVERNMENT. — THE REPLY FROM THE GREAT COUNCIL OF STATE. — DESPATCH OF THE ALLIED FORCE FOR THE OCCUPATION OF CHUSAN.

The British and French Governments having entered into an alliance for the purpose of enforcing, if necessary, by arms, the stipulations of their respective treaties made at Tien-tsin in 1858 with the Imperial Government of China, it was agreed that an English army of about 10,000 men, and a French force of 7000, should be despatched to China. The latter went direct from France; ours was sent from England, the Cape of Good Hope, and India, the bulk of the force from this latter place. The French collected their troops at Shanghai; we, ours at Hong-kong. During the month of March our transports kept arriving daily, the men disembarking and encamping at Kowloon, which is the rocky

promontory stretching out from the mainland towards Victoria, the harbour being there about a mile in width. The precipitous shores of Hong-kong afford but very little space available for the encampment of troops; and as our force was to be collected from such different quarters of the world, it could not be expected to reach China all as nearly at the same time as if coming from one place. It was therefore necessary that, accordingly as each transport arrived, the men should either remain cooped up on board their ships, or else land somewhere, and await there until all the force had been collected. The Commander-in-Chief, Sir Hope Grant, arrived at Hong-kong upon the 13th March, and at once decided upon landing the troops as they came in upon Kowloon. An arrangement was entered into with the Canton authorities, by which we were to hold that promontory for as long as we wished, paying 160*l.* as a yearly rent. Under the directions of Colonel Mackenzie, the Quartermaster-General of the army, the ground was quickly cleared and laid out for the troops, wells dug and roads made, &c. &c.,—our engineers, as usual, working with zeal and ability in providing for the wants of the various corps. In a very short time the ground, which previous to our arrival had been but a rocky waste, with a few patches of garden cultivation in the narrow valleys between the hills, was covered with tents, horse lines, and batteries of artillery; the new Armstrong guns being objects of universal interest. To the people of Victoria, this camp was what our Chobham had been to the London cockneys; crowds of people crossing the harbour daily to have a peep at the interior economy of a soldier's life under

canvas, and to see, for the first time, the far-famed Sikh cavalry being drilled upon the sands, or exercising their skill at "tent pegging." The power and precision of the Armstrong guns was also tried once or twice, the Commander-in-Chief being naturally anxious to test that much-talked-of weapon, which was destined to undergo its first practical trial in action under his orders. Barrels were anchored out at sea a long way, at which these guns made most marvellous practice, the strangest feature about which was the manner in which the shells burst the instant they struck the water.

At Hong-kong the weather is delightful during March and the first week in April. Our officers, who had left Calcutta towards the end of February or beginning of March, where the hot season had already set in, were rather astonished to find every one at Hong-kong wearing cloth clothes and sitting over fires upon their arrival there. In April the weather became warmer daily, but as long as the north-east monsoon continued there was always a refreshing breeze, particularly at Kowloon, where, up to the last day of our sojourn previous to embarkation for the north, the nights were always cool enough to permit of a blanket over one at night. Hong-kong had never before presented such a busy appearance: its harbour crowded with shipping, between which and the shore there was an endless passing to and fro of little boats, either landing troops or embarking stores for the approaching campaign. The streets of Victoria were thronged by soldiers and sailors; commissaries and staff officers were to be seen everywhere, all as busy as mortals well can be.

The war upon which we were entering, was to be carried on in a country regarding the resources of which we literally knew nothing, so provision had to be made against all possible contingencies, and supplies of everything provided, just as if we were about starting upon a desert campaign. Quantities of everything that an army could require were despatched from England and India. Doctors and hospital comforts came pouring in by every mail from home; tents, waterproof sheets, and warm clothing for the winter were furnished most liberally; and the workshops of Canton and Hong-kong contributed the many little *et ceteras*, such as water-bottles and other articles, which had not arrived in time. Hay and forage for our horses was the greatest difficulty we had to contend with, as it had all to be imported, China producing nothing of the sort. Our chief supply of hay came from Bombay, where, unfortunately, no proper means existed for compressing it to the extent we do in England. To provide for our land transport was a serious difficulty, but, like most such in the world, simply resolved itself into a question of pounds, shillings, and pence. Very good ponies were procurable in Japan and Manilla; and a few of the very best could be collected from the Shan-tung province by sending out native buyers for the purpose from Shanghai. The difficulty of collecting all these animals, and feeding them whilst on board ship, was very great indeed. This item was a very serious one in the total expenses of the war. A battalion of the military train had arrived from England, and under the directions of its officer, all our arrangements for carriage ought to have

been carried out. It was directed that the corps should act in all matters under the commissariat, a wise arrangement, and the only one under which the carriage of an army could be efficient. Mr. Bailey, a commissariat officer of great experience, had the immediate supervision of all the arrangements connected with such matters. It was determined to organise a Chinese coolie corps, to be raised at Canton and Hong-kong. Major Temple of the Indian army was entrusted with this duty, and we certainly owe him a great deal for the manner in which he did it. Upon all occasions during the war, whenever there was hard work to be done, these Cantonese coolies were ready and willing for it, working away cheerfully. A number of Manilla men, and bullock-drivers from Madras and Bombay, were also enlisted for mule-driving; indeed, altogether, our army, but particularly our people connected with the land transport, were the most heterogeneous collection ever before got together.

Amongst the combatants actually present in China and available for field work, were regiments of the old "Pandies" of Bengal, of the miserable-looking Madrassees, of Bombay Sepoys, and of Punjaubees, in which were men of every warlike tribe in Northern India, the wild Pathan and the milder but not less brave Sikh. It was a strange assortment of human beings, all dubbed soldiers, from which to select a certain number for field work. Providing for the wants of all Indians out of their own country, and at a distance from it, is a most difficult matter; the number and variety of races and caste render the feeding of such a collection as we had in China most puzzling,

and adds immensely to the difficulties of commissariat officers. What one caste will eat another will almost sooner die than touch, so that in mixed regiments the arrangement necessary for their feeding on board ship was troublesome beyond measure. With the exception of the Irregular Cavalry, the native troops had no opportunities during the war of compensating for the difficulties which they occasioned in all branches of the service. They were very expensive, their pay being fixed upon by the Indian Government at an exorbitant rate; a matter of indifference to Indian officials, as all expenses were to be defrayed by the Home Treasury. In preparing for the wants of a Christian force, in an unexplored country, the difficulties were great enough, but for a large body of Hindostanees our commissariat had more to contend with than ever, I believe, had devolved at any time upon that department before. It was arranged that all vessels proceeding north with troops should have provisions sufficient to last for several months for all the people intended to be on board. Doing this for the vessels intended for the natives of India was a complicated matter; many would not cook at all on board, so that a peculiar description of ration was required for them; and each caste required to pump in the water for their own especial use. Upon one occasion, just as a ship was reported ready for sea, and all had embarked, a man chose to turn Christian, so, in addition to the provisions then on board, supplies for the whole voyage were required for this one interesting neophyte. Imagine what must have been the daily labour of issuing the confusing rations of various sorts of peas,

beans, bad butter, dried fish, and green chilies, &c. &c. to the fastidious heathen, and then the Government allowance of salt pork and biscuit to the solitary Christian.

Upon the 8th of March the following despatch was sent by Mr. Bruce, the British Minister in China, to the Imperial Government of Pekin, stating the very moderate terms upon which we were prepared to forget the insult offered to our flag in 1859 at the Takoo forts, and reopen our friendly intercourse with the Celestial authorities.

Shanghai, March 8th, 1860.

"The Undersigned, &c., has the honour to address a communication to his Excellency Pang Wan-chang, &c., and their Excellencies the members of the Great Council of his Majesty the Emperor of China.

"The Undersigned has the honour to state that, as in duty bound, he has laid before her Britannic Majesty's Government a full narrative of all the circumstances attending his journey to the mouth of the Tien-tsin river last summer, for the purpose of exchanging the ratifications of the treaty of Tien-tsin, as required by the provisions of that treaty, on or before the 26th June, 1859.

"Besides the whole of his correspondence with the Imperial Commissioners and other officers of the Imperial Government, the Undersigned has transmitted to the Government of her Britannic Majesty a copy of the Imperial decree dated the 9th August, and handed by the Emperor's desire to the United States' Minister, Mr. Ward, on the eve of his departure from Pekin.

"The decree begins as follows:—'Last year the ships of the English sailed into the port of Tien-tsin and opened a fire on our troops. We accordingly instructed Sang-ko-lin-sin Prince of the Khor-chin tribe, to adopt the most stringent measures for the defence of Takoo, and (the envoys of) the different nations coming up to exchange treaties on this

occasion were told by Kweiliang and Hwashana, at Shanghai, that Takoo was thus strictly guarded, and that they must go round by the port of Peh-tang. The Englishman Bruce, notwithstanding, when he came to Tien-tsin in the 5th moon, did not abide by his original understanding with Kweiliang and his colleague, but actually forced his way into the port of Takoo, destroying our defensive apparatus.'

"The Undersigned did not fail at once to apprise the Government of her Britannic Majesty that the Emperor had been singularly misled. Had it, indeed, been signified to him by the Commissioners at Shanghai that his Majesty had decided on closing to foreign envoys the natural and most convenient highway to his capital, such evidence of an unfriendly disposition on the part of the Imperial Government would certainly have been regarded by the Undersigned as fit matter of remonstrance and negotiation.

"No intimation of the kind, however, was conveyed to the Undersigned in the letters of the Imperial Commissioners. The port of Peh-tang was never named by them, nor did the Undersigned enter into any engagement with them other than that contained in his letter of the 16th of May, in which he acquainted his Excellency Kweiliang of the nature and object of his mission, and of his intention to proceed by ship to Tien-tsin, from which city he requested his Excellency to give the necessary orders for his conveyance to Pekin.

"He begs to inclose copy of this letter, as also of that received from the Imperial Commissioner of the 12th June. These will prove that the Undersigned was allowed to quit Shanghai in total ignorance of the Emperor's objection of his employment of the usual river route.

"A like silence on the subject of the Imperial prohibition was observed towards Admiral Hope, Commander-in-Chief of her Majesty's naval forces in these seas, when in furtherance of the objects made known to his Excellency Kweiliang in the letter above cited, he appeared on the 17th June at the mouth of the river to announce the approach of the Undersigned and his colleague, the Minister of France. The Admiral was assured that the passage had been closed by the

so-called militia, whom he found in charge of the booms obstructing it, without the orders of their Government, none of whose officers, the militia repeatedly affirmed, were near the spot; also that it was closed not against foreigners, but against a native enemy. These false representations were supported by false appearances, the batteries of the forts were masked, no banners were displayed, no soldier discovered himself. Still further to prevent verification of the statements of the militia, no communication was allowed with the shore. After promising to remove the obstacles at the river mouth, the militia repudiated the promise. They conducted themselves with rudeness and violence to the officers who were sent to speak with them, in one instance proceeding so far as to threaten the life of a gentleman despatched with a message from the Admiral.

"Such was the state of things when the Undersigned arrived outside the bar, on the 20th June. Finding that the officials persisted in keeping aloof, while the militia continued to assert that the obstruction of the river-way was their own unauthorised act, he called on the Admiral to take such steps as would enable him to reach the capital by the time appointed. This, after due notice given to the militia, and after receiving from them an assurance, on the previous evening, that they should certainly have nothing further to communicate, the Admiral was proceeding to effect, on the 25th June, the eighth day from his arrival, when the forts, which had been for these eight days to all appearances deserted, suddenly opened fire upon the squadron. Apparently to cover this treacherous conduct, the officers in charge of the forts have imposed another fiction on his Imperial Majesty, who has been led to believe that the British squadron assumed the offensive by bombarding the forts. This is utterly without foundation: no shot was fired until the batteries had opened; the ships having no other object in advancing but to remove the obstacles placed across the river without authority.

The facts of the case are simply those stated by the Undersigned, and her Britannic Majesty's Government, after mature deliberation, have decided, that whether the Emperor of

China was cognizant of this act of hostility, or whether it was directed by his officers, it is an outrage for which the Chinese Government must be held responsible. Her Britannic Majesty's Government require, therefore, an immediate and unconditional acceptance of the following terms: —

"1. That an ample and satisfactory apology be made for the act of the troops who fired on the ships of her Britannic Majesty from the forts of Takoo in June last, and that all guns and material, as well as the ships abandoned on that occasion be restored.

"2. That the ratifications of the treaty of Tien-tsin be exchanged without delay at Pekin; that when the Minister of her Britannic Majesty proceeds to Pekin for that purpose, he be permitted to proceed up the river by Takoo to the city of Tien-tsin in a British vessel; and that provision be made by the Chinese authorities for the conveyance of himself and of his suite with due honour from that city to Pekin.

"3. That full effect be given to the provisions of the said treaties, including a satisfactory arrangement to be made for the prompt payment of the indemnity of 4,000,000 taels, as stipulated in the treaty, for losses and military expenses entailed on the British Government by the misconduct of the Canton authorities.

"The Undersigned is further directed to state that, in consequence of the attempt made to obstruct the passage of the Undersigned to Pekin, the understanding entered into between the Earl of Elgin and the Imperial Commissioners in October 1858, with respect to the residence of the British Minister in China, is at an end, and that it rests henceforward exclusively with her Britannic Majesty, in accordance with the terms of Article II. of the treaty of Tien-tsin, to decide whether or not she shall instruct her Minister to take up his abode permanently at Pekin.

"The Undersigned has further to observe, that the outrage at the Peiho has compelled her Majesty's Government to increase her forces in China at a considerable cost, and the contribution that may be required from the Chinese Government towards defraying this expense, will be greater or less

according to the promptitude with which the demands above made are satisfied in full by the Imperial Government.

"The Undersigned has only to add, that unless he receives within a period of thirty days from the date of this communication, a reply conveying the unqualified assent of his Majesty the Emperor of China to these demands, the British naval and military authorities will proceed to adopt such measures as they may deem advisable, for the purpose of compelling the Emperor of China to observe the engagements contracted for him by his plenipotentiaries at Tientsin, and approved by his Imperial Edict of July 1858.

"The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed) "FREDERICK W. A. BRUCE."

A couple of days before the time allowed for an answer had expired, the following despatch was forwarded to Mr. Bruce by the Shanghai Commissioner Ho, the Great Council thereby declining to hold direct communication with our minister.

(Translation.)

"The Great Council writes a reply (to the Commissioner Ho, which he is) to transmit.

"The Council received yesterday (or, a short time since), a despatch from the Commissioner, and with it a communication he had forwarded from the British Minister Bruce, the contents of which have occasioned the Council the greatest astonishment.

"He states, for instance, that Peh-tang was never alluded to by the Imperial Commissioners Kweiliang and his colleagues. It appears that last year the Imperial Commissioners, Kweilang and his colleagues, waited for the British Minister at Shanghai for the express purpose of considering with him in person all the conditions proper to an exchange of treaties. On ascertaining that the Minister Bruce had arrived at Wu-sung, they wrote to him several times to engage him to meet them, their object being, in fact, to

acquaint him that Takoo was fortified (or, that arrangements had been made for keeping people out of Takoo), and that he must go by way of Peh-tang. He, however, repelled them, refusing them an interview. The Imperial Commissioners Kweiliang and his colleagues, moreover, informed him that vessels of war must, on no account, cross the bar; but the British Minister Bruce paid no attention to these words, and when, on arriving off the Tien-tsin coast (or, the port, or the ports, of Tien-tsing), Hang, Governor-General of Chih-li, despatched an officer with a communication to the effect that he was to proceed by way of Peh-tang, and sent him a present of provisions, he would receive nothing; but suddenly brought his vessels into Takoo, and (commenced) destroying the defensive apparatus there placed. How can he allege that he never received the slightest intimation that he was to go by Peh-tang? And as he was coming to exchange treaties, why did he bring with him ships of war? It was plainly his intent to pick a quarrel. How, then, can he (when the blame is all his own) charge China with short-coming towards him?

"The defences prepared at Takoo are not either (as he implies) prepared to keep out the British. Suppose that some other nation's ships of war were to go the length of presenting themselves under British colours, could it be left to them to commit any breach of propriety they pleased? Well, then, the defences of Takoo cannot possibly be removed, even when the treaties shall have been exchanged.

"(Then the demand for) indemnity under different heads, and for the restitution of guns, arms, and vessels is yet more against decorum. The war expenses of China have been enormous. The cost of defending the coast from Kwang-tung and Fuh-kien up to Tien-tsin, from first to last, has not been short of several millions of money. Were she to demand repayment of England, England would find that her expenses do not amount to the half of those of China.

"As to restoring ships and guns, the year before last England destroyed the forts at Takoo, and obtained possession of a number of guns belonging to China; ought she not,

then, on her part, to be considering how to make these good? But, besides this, half the British ships and guns (demanded) were sunk in the sea; they are not in the possession of China at all. The question may be dropped, therefore, by both parties alike.

"Then there is (the announcement that) the compromise by which, the treaties once exchanged, (the Minister) was to have resided somewhere else, is at an end. The compromise by which, once the treaties were exchanged, (the Minister), was either to select some other place of residence, or to visit (the capital) whenever there might be business of importance to transact, was definitely settled by the British Minister Elgin in negotiation with the Imperial Commissioner Kweiliang and his colleagues. The revocation of this compromise now (announced) is even more unreasonable (than all the other propositions).

Last year when, after the Americans had exchanged their treaty, there was an alteration in the rate of tonnage dues, and the ports of Tai-wan and Chang-chau (Swatow) were opened to trade, the British Minister earnestly prayed for a like arrangement in (his favour). The English had not exchanged their treaty, but his Majesty the Emperor, liberal to foreign nations and full of tender consideration for the interests of commerce, graciously sanctioned an extension of the boon to the English, for which they should be equally grateful. But if the compromise duly negotiated is to be annulled, there will be no impropriety on the part of China, if she cancel the arrangement by which she has conceded to the English (the same advantage of) the improvements in tonnage dues and trade that accrues to the Americans under their Treaty.

"To come to the (British Minister's) request to be treated with courtesy when he comes north to exchange treaties. If he be sincere in his desire for peace, let the Commissioner, when he shall have thought over all the details of the treaty, those which it will be proper to give effect to, and those respecting which compromise (or arrangement) is to be made, negotiate (with the British Minister), and when both parties

shall be perfectly agreed, if he will come north without vessels of war and with a moderate retinue, and will wait at Peh-tang to exchange the treaties, China will not take him to task for what is gone by. He must be directed to acquaint himself with the rules (observed, or laid down) at the exchange of the American treaties, and the course to be pursued will be further discussed with him (by the Commissioner).

"But if he be resolved to bring up a number of vessels of war, and if he persist in proceeding by way of Takoo, this will show that his true purpose is not the exchange of treaties, and it must be left to the high officer in charge of the coast (or port) defences to take such steps as shall be thereby rendered necessary (*lit.*, as shall accord with reason).

"The despatch written on this occasion (by the British Minister) is in much of its language too insubordinate and extravagant (for the Council) to discuss its propositions more than superficially (*lit.*, to go deep into argument). For the future he must not be so wanting in decorum.

"The above remarks will have to be communicated by the Commissioner to the British Minister, whom it will behove not to adhere obstinately to his own opinion, as by so doing he will give cause to much trouble hereafter.

"A necessary communication."

Sir Hope Grant and General Montauban were both at Shanghai when this reply was received by Mr. Bruce there, so it was determined to commence operations at once by a descent upon Chusan.

This movement, and a blockade of all the ports north of the Yang-tse-kiang, had been ordered by the home Government, in the event of hostilities becoming necessary.

The blockade was never established, as the objects hoped to be gained from it were illusory. It was thought by many in England, that such a blockade

would completely cut off the supplies of grain which are annually exported from the south to the north of China, where the inhabitants are dependent upon the importations for food, and consequently compel the Pekin Government to make terms.

This idea was perfect in theory, but likely to prove a failure in practice, like many other plans concocted in Downing Street, for application to distant countries, of which but little is known in England.

Our information as to the inland navigation, or other means of internal communication throughout China, was so very limited, that it was far from certain that a blockade of the northern ports would have the effect of materially complicating the difficulties of the Imperial Government in supplying their armies near Takoo, or render corn so scarce at Pekin that its want might be felt severely soon enough to bring any very embarrassing pressure upon the ministers there, during the time hostilities might reasonably be expected to last. Its effects, as they would most probably tell back upon us, were likely to be pernicious in the extreme. It would most probably have given rise to reprisals being made by the Chinese upon our unprotected commercial establishments at the various ports: Canton and Shanghai were the only places where we could safely hope, with the forces stationed there, to protect our merchants and their families living in China, and we were scarcely prepared to make a Cawnpore or Delhi of Amoy or Foo-chow. The war which we were about commencing was declared to be with the Imperial Government at Pekin, and not with the Chinese people; supposing we were able to cut off

the supplies of grain for the north, and so inflict misery and starvation upon millions, would the hungry population believe our proclamations? To tell a people whilst you starve them, that you are most favourably disposed towards them, and that you only wish to punish their rulers, who, personally, would never want as long as "there was corn in Egypt," is a strange method of gaining their good-will: to have raised generally throughout the north of China the price of all necessaries of life, would have had the effect of strengthening the hands of Government in a great measure, as it would have made enemies of the mass, who, in China, care nothing generally who their rulers are, as long as their ordinary avocations are uninterfered with. To have opened the campaign by trying the effect of cutting off supplies from the people would have been a dangerous experiment with the most imitative nation in the world, and would have been teaching them a lesson, by the practice of which they would have been able to have resisted us in the most formidable of all manners. Had the Chinese adopted the plan of campaign which Wellington did in defence of Portugal in 1809, or of the Russians in 1812 in defence of Moscow, we could not have reached Pekin in 1860. They had only to lay waste the country, burn the standing crops, drive away all cattle and destroy the boats upon the Peiho, to have completely checkmated us: surely it would have been a great risk to have adopted any line of policy which might have suggested such a course of action for their conduct in the war. Our supplies of cattle came chiefly from the neighbourhood of Shang-

hai, which the authorities might have easily prevented at any moment, had they appreciated the advantages which they might derive from doing so. The blockade was, consequently, never enforced. Mr. Bruce, I believe, upon his own responsibility, kept the matter in abeyance, pending a reference to the Home Government upon the subject. The occupation of Chusan was of little consequence. I cannot see how it strengthened us in either a political or a military point of view; but as it had been decided that nothing was to be done in the north until June, it did not interfere with our other arrangements or cause much additional expense. As a coaling station for our ships proceeding north from Hong-kong, it was of little use, owing to the difficulty of navigation amongst the islands; and as a place from whence to draw supplies, it was not so good as Shanghai. However, in obedience to the instructions from home, a force was embarked at Hong-kong, consisting of the 67th and 99th Regiments, four companies of Royal Marines, Major Rotton's battery of Royal Artillery, a company of Royal Engineers, and 300 of the Chinese coolie corps, with a due proportion of commissariat and medical staff. This force on board their respective transports was to rendezvous at the island of King-tang, opposite the mouth of the Ningpo river. The French force was to be a couple of hundred marines, who had been sent for to Canton. The French fleet under Admiral Page, the English under Admiral Jones: Sir Hope Grant to command in person, General Montauban remaining at Shanghai.

CHAP. II.

ARRIVAL OF THE CHUSAN FORCE AT THE RENDEZVOUS OFF THE ISLAND OF KING-TANG. — ARRIVAL AT TING-HAI. — CAPITULATION OF THE ISLAND. — DESCRIPTION OF THE PLACE. — DEPARTURE FROM CHUSAN AND ARRIVAL AT POO-TOO. — DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND AND ITS TEMPLES.

The open roadstead where we rendezvous'd off King-tang was very pretty : we were about a mile from shore, so that we could see the country well. This island, known by us as the Silver Isle, rises in most places abruptly from the shore, there being but little level land there, and that little consisting of small narrow strips, evidently reclaimed from the sea, which is still only kept from overflowing them by an earthen embankment, there called a bund. Like all other places I have seen in China, it was closely and beautifully cultivated. Every little spot capable of yielding the most trifling produce was neatly laid out into vegetable ground and carefully sown, with the exception of those few scattered portions where nature refused to reward the toil of the husbandman. It was to all intents a garden, and well deserved its native name of King-tang, or Golden Island. These islands only want wood to be beautiful, but land is too valuable there to allow of timber being grown to any extent. Each hamlet, however, is surrounded by either a high hedge of

bamboo or some trees, which are, I believe, allowed to grow with a sanitary object in view, as this provision of timber near the houses is supposed to absorb all the miasma generated from the low grounds on which the Chinese towns and villages are invariably built. We are thus taught a lesson in sanitary arrangements applicable to the country, and the value of which we discovered to our cost when last we occupied Chusan, where the troops encamped upon the hills suffered so severely, whilst those quartered in the town and on the low ground near it were, comparatively speaking, healthy. We have since then adopted the plan of bamboo hedges, and planted them round our barracks at Hong-kong. The tide which ran where our ships were anchored off King-tang was so swift, that when running with its greatest force, no rowboat could pull against it; and several belonging to our ships of war were only saved from being carried out to sea by dropping anchor, those not having such with them making impromptu ones out of the awning-rods, or other available substitutes.

Several officers belonging to the 67th Regiment, who had been on shore during the day enjoying a ramble over the hills, having incautiously put to sea during the last hour of the ebb tide, were drifted off, and could not even make our ship, which was furthest down in the stream way. We floated out a line to them fastened to a life-buoy, which they caught, but not being clever at nautical manœuvres, they allowed the line to get under the keel, where it frayed and broke; so off they drifted with a five-knot current and a steady wind. Being very crowded, and without an anchor,

they had reason to be thankful that another boat, which had shortly before been similarly drifted, lay at anchor, just astern of them, which, in passing, they managed to lay hold of, and there having waited for the turn of tide, they got back to their ships hungry and, I should fancy, weary of arm. Opposite King-tang is the town of Chin-hai, where the Ningpo river falls into the sea: it was just visible from our anchorage; and its tapering pagodas, situate close behind, formed good landmarks for shipping. The report of guns was heard all through the day in that direction, although the rebels were not anywhere within range. This frequent discharge of cannon is supposed to have the effect of increasing the courage of the Imperialists, and of proportionably depressing that of the rebel troops. By daybreak on the 21st of April we were all under weigh, at first coasting along King-tang, then treading a tortuous passage through the other islands, all equally pretty, and bearing a close resemblance one to the other. Once in amongst them, it appeared to be an inland lake which our ships were furrowing up. Land was quite close to us, on all sides, rising from the sea, for the most part in steep slopes, and richly green down almost to high-water mark; whilst here and there a clump of trees or hedge of tall bamboo indicated the position of a village. Numbers of small craft hovered about, more like a flock of swallows than a fleet of ordinary fishing-boats; and there, for the first time, I saw Chinese junks having sails, devoid of the bamboo rods, which are usually placed at about one foot apart over their entire length: these were fitted, instead, with rings, which slid up and down the masts like our fore-and-

aft sails, and being made of two pieces laced together, were easily reduced in size, by detaching the lower portion, instead of reefing, as in our own vessels. Having rounded Tea Island we found the Pearl, and the three transports which she had been towing the day before, lying quietly at anchor, and on passing Bell Island we sighted the batteries of Ting-hai. Immediately there was an eager pointing in their direction of telescopes and binoculars, each one being anxious to ascertain first the truth or falsehood of the report of large reinforcements having been despatched from the mainland, which had for some days gone the rounds of our naval community, and to prove himself the first discoverer of the existence or non-existence of guns in the embrasures or of troops within the works: it is so gratifying to most men's *amour propre* and vanity to be able to verify their predictions. Soon, however, those gifted with the keenest eyes and Dolland's best glasses, declared that they could not discern one single gun in any of the batteries; and then those who had pooh-poohed the idea of any resistance being offered to us, pointed in triumph towards the harmless works, and exclaimed, in all the pride of superior discernment, "Didn't I tell you?"

Steaming on a little further, we dropped anchor off Ting-hai, the capital of Chusan, about a mile south of Josshouse Hill, a small commanding knoll, whose masonry batteries, crowded with embrasures without guns, overlooked the roadstead.

A short conference was held on board the French flag-ship, Duchayla, when it was decided that a flag of truce should be sent ashore at once. Mr. Parkes, C. B.,

accompanied by a well-armed boat's crew, bearing a white flag, accordingly left our ship, the Grenada, about noon, and returned about four o'clock P.M., bringing with him two mandarins, one having a red coral button, the other a blue glass one. The former, whose button pronounced him to be of the second order of his class, was the officer commanding the military force of the district. The other was the civil magistrate; he was short and vulgar-looking, without anything whatever pleasing about him. I was informed that he had purchased his rank, a proceeding to which this dynasty has had to resort from want of funds, particularly since our war of 1840, from which time they have been ever pressed for money. The military mandarin was, on the contrary, a tall, gentleman-like fellow, with a quick, intelligent eye, and good countenance, a Mussulman — strange to say. Both remained seated upon deck for a few minutes, until the arrival of the English and French admirals, when they were conducted below and presented in due form to Sir Hope Grant. They declared their readiness to give up the island at once, but inquired minutely into our intentions as to the administration we purposed adopting when we took possession. They were informed that two commissioners, one English, the other French, were to be appointed for the management of all affairs; that the Chinese civil authorities should continue in office, and govern as usual, subject, however, to whatever modification of their laws the allied commissioners might deem advisable.

A proclamation in Chinese had been drawn up by Mr. Parkes, which it had been intended to post up in

Ting-hai and the neighbouring towns and villages. It was a simple announcement of our arrival and of our intentions. It reminded the inhabitants of our former occupation of the island, of the good treatment they had then experienced at our hands, and of the many advantages which had accrued to them—more especially as regarded their trade—from our former stay at Ting-hai. It exhorted them to be well behaved, and at the same time warned them that if any disturbed the peace they would be severely dealt with.

Our allies objected to the words "British occupation" being inserted, and requested that "European occupation" might be inserted instead. There is no word in the Chinese language which expresses "European," so "Foreign" was used instead.

It was decided that a guard of fifty men of each nation should land at once and take military possession of Ting-hai,—our detachment going into the Custom-house, which had been built by us for a hospital during our former occupation, and the French taking up their quarters in the buildings upon Josshouse Hill. The interview then terminated, and the mandarins having partaken of tea and Maraschino (a liqueur which the Mahomedan enjoyed greatly, smacking his lips after each glass), returned to shore, each in a separate boat, surrounded by their numerous followers, who had accompanied them on board our vessel, and who had, during the conference, kept peering down the sky-lights, listening attentively to all that passed between their masters and the "barbarian" chiefs. There was such a dense fog around the land, when they left the Grenada, that I cannot imagine how, without a

compass, they managed to find the landing-place. This fog, coexistent, as it was, with a high wind, was a strange phenomenon: it drifted past us like smoke, never rising to any great height, but so dense whilst it lasted, that only the very tops of the ships' masts about were visible. The little civilian mandarin caught a severe cold from his expedition, and during our interview with him upon the day following, he never ceased blowing his nose, wheezing and coughing. He attributed his misfortune to the wind, which all Chinamen dislike particularly,—their expression for catching a cold is "met the wind."

Our fifty marines who went ashore were only able to find the place they were bound for by aid of a compass; and the French detachment, which had no naval officer with it, was found by Major Fisher, late at night, just about to anchor, having rowed round and round in the fog, unable to discover the wharf. He extricated it from the dilemma, and conducted the party to Josshouse Hill, where, finding the gates locked, he climbed over the wall and opened them from the inside, to the horror and amazement of the holy occupants of the place.

Early on the following day, the 22nd April, the allied commanders, naval and military, landed with a small party of each nation, and made a grand circuit around Ting-hai and its vicinity. We first proceeded along the bund or sea wall, which shuts in the low ground of the valley upon which the town stands, and protects it from the inroads of the sea; it is a substantial work, and extends from the jetty, near Josshouse Hill, where we landed, for about a mile westwardly and

a mile and a half eastwardly, meeting in both directions the hills, which, running down towards the sea, form the sides of the valley. Passing along towards its western extremity, we came to an unarmed battery, which stands upon a projecting spur of the hills, and opposite Guard-house Island. It was built of granite, and floored with the same material; two or three well-directed shells, or even round shot, striking the work would render it untenable from stone splinters. The view from thence was very pleasing. Between it and the town the flat alluvial ground was intersected with tiny canals, along which boats were plying, laden for the most part with furniture, which the timid owners were seeking to save from the plunder by which they apprehended our approach would be heralded.

No spot as large as a handkerchief was left untilled; the very ridges which bounded the canals were sown down their steep, narrow slopes with beans or some other vegetable: large plots of flowering mustard-seed served with its delicate perfume to counteract in some measure the ill odour of the manure used so profusely by all Chinese farmers. The variegated colouring of the clover fields contrasted well with the waving barley and bright emerald green of the young rice plant, as it sprang up densely in those water-covered forcing-beds, from which it is afterwards transplanted. A few scattered tumuli and some small temples, surrounded by weather-beaten looking cedar trees, showed to advantage here and there. The eye ranged with pleasure from the rich plain to the rugged hills which surround the capital of

Chusan. Even upon them, the handiwork of the industrious Chinaman was apparent in many places, where they were terraced out, so as to admit of cultivation; those spots, whose steepness or sterility forbad even this, were used as the last resting-places for the ancestors of those who now farm the plain beneath. There the coffins containing the dead were simply placed, with only a slight covering of bamboo matting to shield them from the weather, no attempt being made to bury them. The coffins are much stronger and more durable than those used at home. They are quadrilateral in shape, and are made out of stout timbers about four inches in thickness, well morticed together. The hill, at the extremity of which stands the Guard-house battery, slopes gently up to where a small square redoubt defends the pass over the ridge against any attacking force marching from the westward towards Ting-hai. This little fortified post is built of stone, but has fallen into disrepair. Leaving that ridge, we followed the winding course of the narrow highway, which led to the western gate of the city. This road, like most of those in Southern China constructed through the plains, was merely a bank of mud, raised about a foot above the water in the surrounding fields. It was paved with flags of granite along its centre, which were very slippery from the rain which had fallen during the early morning.

Close to the walls of the town a long projecting spur runs out from the western range of hills into the very town itself, so that the walls pass over a considerable part of it. The Imperial engineers do not seem to consider such a tracing as injurious, as I have

seen many other instances of a similar nature, at Canton, for example. An attacking force once in possession of the higher part of the hill without the fortifications, can completely command the walls. Such an operation would be very simple at Ting-hai, as a column of troops might pass, from the westward and north-westward, protected from fire, until it reached the summit of the hill, from whence they would have a view of the interior, and be enabled to enfilade the neighbouring portion of the walls.

The town is surrounded by a wet ditch, except where the walls pass over the above-mentioned hill, at which point they are completely unprotected and open to an escalade; some insignificant square towers, about a hundred yards apart, being the only provision made for a flanking defence. We crossed over the wet ditch by a wooden bridge and passed under a low stone archway into the town, which closely resembled the generality of Chinese cities, being, however, on a small scale and more provincial looking than Canton or Shanghai. It is said to contain about 30,000 inhabitants, the entire population of Chusan being about 400,000. The only buildings of any size are the Yamuns, forming the official residences of the two Mandarins who visited us the previous evening. The temples and collegiate establishments are unimportant in appearance, but well built and kept in tolerable order. The temples had the usual amount of carving, painting, and gilding about them, and the hideous representations of historical characters and deities which, as a rule, are to be found in all buildings of a like kind in the empire.

From the lowness of its position and the consequent difficulty in draining it, I can well understand Ting-hai being unhealthy. The space between its southern walls and the sea is about a mile in depth; upon it our cantonments formerly stood. It has since then been thickly built over, so that it was with difficulty we were able to recognise the barrack buildings we had erected in 1841. They have all been converted into shops, and otherwise changed to suit the comforts of their present occupants. There was really no place where troops could be provided with suitable quarters, to any extent, except in the temples, which were formerly found to be unhealthy, and which looked damp then. The sanitary officer did not consider them well suited for barracks.

With a force of more than two thousand men on board ship, it was difficult to know what to do. However, by distributing them in small parties throughout the various Yamuns and other public buildings within the city walls, it was found just possible to provide accommodation for 1000 men, besides allowing a fair share for our allies. This was effected without turning out the civil Mandarin (whom it was thought advisable to leave unmolested, so as to weaken his authority as little as possible), and also without taking possession of the Confucian temple, or that of the city deity. We were to keep about 300 marines in the custom-house and adjoining buildings. The 67th Regiment was to remain on board ship, and one of the transports vacated by the 99th Regiment was to be converted into a hospital.

The French were to hold the north gate and a

detached temple about a mile from it, known as the Poo-tsze. It is situated in a secluded nook of the hills and surrounded by plantations of tall bamboo and sombre-looking cedars, whose melancholy aspect accorded well with the spirit of the place, as it was enclosed on all sides by hundreds of tombs and unburied coffins. The musty odours prevalent there detracted much from the charm of the scene, and rendered a frequent application of the pocket-handkerchief to one's olfactories indispensable. The allied commanders were to be quartered in the Chin-tai Yamun, from which the military mandarin was to be ejected. Josshouse Hill was to be held by a guard of each nation, and the English and French flags hoisted there. There were two high Joss poles, and as our allies were already in occupation of the hill, they naturally chose the better of the two for their tricolor. Upon one of our naval officers going ashore to hoist the Union Jack, it was found that the other post was so old as to be useless. He consequently procured a spar from the fleet for the purpose. Unfortunately it was a few feet higher than the pole chosen by our allies, who at once sent for another still higher, as they are so sensitive upon trifling matters of such a nature. Upon returning from an expedition into the city, I was amused to see the crowd assembled round a guard of the 99th Regiment, the men of which were giants in the estimation of the inhabitants. The engineers were set to work to prepare the buildings for our troops. The gods and the various paraphernalia of idolatry were removed from the temples to places of security by the priests and other parties interested in their preserva-

tion. All the guns and munitions of war, were collected into one of the four regimental magazines, the others being used as barracks.

These arm stores were curious places, and well worth seeing. They were all alike, being two storied, with a small yard in front, enclosed by a high wall. A small guard-house stood upon each side of the door, which opened out from the yard into the street. Piled up in those places were numbers of cannon, mostly short iron twelve and eighteen-pounder carronades, besides some old useless guns, whose breeches had been evidently cast separately, and fastened on by some peculiar process of welding. There were some very nicely finished brass guns, richly carved with Chinese characters. The buildings within were fitted with arm-racks and stands, resembling those used in our magazines. Numbers of swords, spears, pikes, &c. &c., all very rusty, were arranged in them. There was an infinite variety of matchlocks and jingalls of all sizes, make, and calibre. Large chests stood around the walls, each duly labelled as containing so many military coats, unmentionables, &c. &c., whilst piled up in the corners were mildewed shields, having grotesque faces painted upon them. We agreed to return all these arms and military equipments to the military authorities, whenever we evacuated the place; in the mean time their condition was to be cared for by the Chinese, our authorities guarding against any of them being abstracted. The military force belonging to the group of islands, nominally consists of seven regiments, rated at 400 men each, but never able to muster more than half that number upon parade. Four of these seven regiments

belong to the island of Chusan itself, the remaining three are scattered throughout the other islands, and as they are composed mostly of sailors, employed generally in fishing and mercantile operations, they are but very seldom collected for exercise. This military system bears a striking resemblance in every respect to that of our militia force. Like it, the Chinese battalions are supposed to assemble for exercise at a stated period yearly; at other times their arms are kept in regimental storehouses, as I have previously described. I was told that the Ting-hai brigade had not been collected for exercise for the last eight years.

The impression made upon me by Chusan was pleasing in the extreme. Having but lately left the flat and ugly banks of the Yang-tse-kiang, its undulating beauty seemed to me all the more worthy of admiration. It embraces so many of the acknowledged requisites for scenic effect, of which there is such a total want at Shanghai and along the coast between it and Hong-kong, where the eye soon wearies of the monotonous recurrence of neat cabbage gardens laid out with a mathematical precision. Around Ting-hai nature displays her brightest colours; the eye wanders from hill to plain, now resting on the dark green foliage of the cedars, then upon the pink and white of the peach blossoms. The cold, dull grey of the steep rocks, partly thrown into deep shadow, gives distance to the surrounding objects. At last, surfeited as it were by the richness of the colouring, one turns to gaze upon some distant valley, where undefined outlines mingle imperceptibly in a misty haze of cobalt, fading away, further off still, into that indescribable grey which

bounds the range of vision. Unfortunately my recollection of its inhabitants is far less pleasing than that of its scenery. They seemed to be smaller and less physically strong than the people about Shanghai. They were also poorer as a class; their dwellings were untidy and dirty. They are badly clothed, and appear to have purchased the cast-off garments of some other locality; for I did not see any people with one single new article of clothing about them. Pawnbrokers' establishments are so common in China, it is quite possible that all the clothing found to be unsaleable on the mainland may be exported to Chusan for the market there. We did not get the "Pekin Gazette" regularly, so I cannot say whether it frequently contains advertisements of "cast-off clothes for exportation to the colonies," &c. &c.

A large proportion of the Ting-hai citizens had left the city to await the issue of affairs in places of safety. All Chinamen believe us to be such an irritable people, and so thoroughly children of change, that our conduct is never to be relied on, nor is former quiet behaviour considered any guarantee for future good conduct under similar circumstances. Almost all the female portion of the inhabitants had gone into the country. A few of the most uninteresting age, or of singularly unprepossessing features, alone remained to represent the fair sex. When the better classes have flown, leaving behind only the squalid and deformed, all towns would show to very poor advantage, but in China more particularly so.

In every "Celestial" city the mendicant class is peculiarly large, all of whom endeavour to render their

appearance as loathsome as possible, in order to excite pity. All are more or less affected with cutaneous diseases, arising from the excess of filth in which they seem to revel, and many have limbs covered with chronic sores, which they never fail in obtruding upon the gaze of all passers-by. With such people remaining behind, whilst most of the richer families had left, it is scarcely to be wondered at that Ting-hai should recall few pleasing reminiscences as to its inhabitants.

In walking through Chinese cities, one shrinks instinctively from any contact with the crowd, a feeling understood, it would seem, by the leprous beggars who press near in hopes of eliciting money. It is surprising how many throw money to these beggars, who receive it seemingly as a matter of right. Mendicancy is a recognised institution in China, and is included in the regular list of profitable pursuits open to a young man entering life; so much so, that in large families amongst the poor people, it is not in any way unusual to find one son educated as a beggar. One eye is frequently put out, and sometimes both, for the purpose of exciting pity. Diseases are regularly inoculated into the system with the same object.

When one of these beggars enters a shop or a house, the owner cannot legally turn him out until he gives him some money. In some places in Ting-hai, emaciated bodies lay upon the roadside, partially covered with straw, rags, or some coarse brown canvas, from beneath which a leg or arm was extended, covered with the dirt of years and horrid sores, which even no dog would lick in passing. These figures lay thus quite motionless, presenting an aspect so horrible that they

seemed as if rotting from the corruption of death. As their faces were generally covered up it was in some instances difficult to say whether they lived, or that death had already seized upon its prey.

I was glad indeed to get back to our comfortable ship after the day's exploration through Ting-hai. Brigadier Reeves having been left in command there, Sir Hope Grant left upon the evening of the 23rd April.

Our course lay along many narrow channels between the various islands of the Archipelago, turning sharp round promontories, and sometimes steering for places where at first sight no opening was visible, but which developed itself as the ship drew solemnly near it.

The course was so very devious, and the numerous islands so very like one to the other, that it seemed a marvel how our captain found, what Paddy would call, the "road."

As the shades of evening gradually darkened the surrounding scenery, rendering all further progress dangerous, we dropped anchor for the night, in a snug little bay, almost surrounded by islands, over the tops of which the last rays of the setting sun were visible for a few minutes, gilding those objects which stood out prominently upon the line of land which formed our horizon, and then disappeared suddenly, marking the termination of another day.

We started again at daybreak upon the following morning, the 24th April, and, continuing our winding course through the islands, anchored at half past eight o'clock, A.M., south of the island known in our charts as Poo-too, not more than a couple of hundred yards from shore. It lies to the eastward of the

Chusan group, and is esteemed a most sacred place by all believing Buddhists. Thousands of pilgrims and enthusiasts flock to it annually from the mainland, during the months of February and March, and again in July and August. At such times, I was informed, it presents a very gay appearance.

We had heard that there were several very large temples and monasteries upon it, which the Commander-in-Chief was anxious to inspect, as circumstances might have rendered necessary the establishment of a sanatorium upon one of the islands; in which case it would be desirable, for economical reasons, to select one having buildings upon it, suitable for hospital purposes.

There is nothing that can be denominated a town or even village upon Poo-too, the wants of the priests, who with some few dependants constitute the sole residents there, being supplied by a few dingy-looking shops, standing close by the outer enclosure of the principal temple. Their whole stock in trade was very small, in no instance, I should fancy, exceeding a dollar in value. They contained none of the luxuries, and but few of even the necessaries, of life. In each and every shop, however, there were quaint pictures exposed for sale, the most curious of which was a representation of the island itself, showing its hills, valleys, roads, and buildings, in a sort of isometrical projection. It was a print coloured by the hand, the brightest of reds, greens, blues, and yellows being used to represent houses, water, &c. &c. They were done upon very thin paper of a fragile description. Another strange drawing was a collection of pictures of the different people inhabiting the various countries

in the world, all of course represented as tributaries of China. The paper was divided into about a hundred and fifty little squares, each square being supposed to have correct likenesses of a particular people, and illustrating the peculiar characteristics of each. In the corner of each little square was a letter-press explanation, by means of which it was intended to instruct the geographical student in the ethnology and exact position of every country, giving its distance from Pekin. In one of the countries described, it was averred that the people never died, but the author was careful that none of his readers should ever test the accuracy of his assertion, for it was said to be at a distance of thirty years' journey from China. The English were represented as a people famous for their construction of guns, and the accompanying representation was of two men carrying a large cannon between them, under whose weight the stalwart Britishers looked most jovial.

The only permanent residents in Poo-too are the very old priests, whom age or infirmities prevent from making those frequent begging expeditions to the mainland, usual with the able-bodied brethren. Upon such pilgrimages they are sometimes absent for several months together, and travel to all parts of the empire, collecting, as best they can, a small hoard of cash from the credulous and superstitious. Chinamen, as a rule, are liberal in their almsgiving. They appear to think that such acts are marked down to the credit side in their accounts with the world to come. Few think seriously upon such subjects; but although their ideas of religion are most undefined, yet all have some sort

of superstition instead, which, without pointing out any deity to reverence or trust in, causes them to dread evil spirits, whom they imagine always prone to take offence, unless duly appeased by the fragrance of joss-sticks, or the bestowal of alms upon the poor and helpless. There are about a thousand priests belonging to the island, five hundred of whom are always away begging, upon the proceeds of which employment, and on the presents received during the annual visits made by devotees to the place, they have to depend for their subsistence and the support of their establishments. Some of the priests there told us that they were entitled to a yearly stipend from the Imperial treasury, but that it had not been paid for seventy years.

Their statements upon financial matters were not to be relied on, as they naturally endeavoured to impress us with an idea of their poverty, in hopes of extracting a liberal "kumskaw," or present, from us. These would-be holy men are generally drawn from the vilest of the population, and lie unblushingly, just as suits their interests.

We had landed upon a substantial but rudely-constructed quay, formed of granite. Passing along it for about two hundred yards, we reached the paved roadway leading to the temples. It was about ten or twelve feet wide, and laid down with the greatest nicety. It led up a gentle slope, having neatly trimmed hedgerows on either side, and shaded in many places by flowering trees, whose branches met, forming vistas well sheltered from the sun, or the rain, which falls so frequently in that locality.

As we strolled along admiring the variety of the

timber and pendant creepers, we passed several small temples standing near the road, with flower-gardens or shrubberies around them. About half a mile up the road was an arched gateway, in which there were seats for those who might be wearied from their exertions in mounting to it. Beyond this archway the road descended to the principal temple of the place. As we paused for a few moments upon the hill, the view was charming. The picturesque roofs and tall flag-posts of the temple were just visible above the mass of many-coloured foliage, which surrounded the buildings, and seemed almost to fill up the valley below. To the eastward a long, hilly point stretched out into the bright blue sea, against whose base the flowing tide broke with that low, pleasing sound, which to my mind is the sea-shore's greatest charm. As we looked back towards the landing-place, the bay in which our ship lay at anchor was as calm as a mill-pond, reflecting in its glassy waters the dark-brown sails of the tiny fishing-craft, which sailed about rapidly here and there, although there was not enough wind to ripple the sea's surface, and certainly not sufficient to have propelled the smallest sized of our boats.

The extent of land under cultivation is small. The hills around were mostly covered with grass, broken at some places by small tumuli of rough stones, or granite rocks projecting above the surface. Massive boulders were scattered about, some resting upon such steep places, that they seemed to threaten momentarily to roll down. A great variety of ferns clustered around their sides, and strange lichens and creepers clung about the rough faces of the rocks. Upon every cliff,

and most of the large stones about, there were sentences exquisitely carved in Chinese characters. They were chiefly moral proverbs, or expositions of Confucian doctrines. Some were richly gilt, others painted red, blue, or black, and, from the size of the characters, legible at great distances. In several places, where some smooth face of rock presented itself, small niches had been excavated in which had been placed some one of the many sacred figures reverenced in the expansive creed of Buddhism. The rocks were mostly granite, with some concrete formation showing itself occasionally; the soil was a light sandy loam.

Whilst descending from the archway towards the first large temple, we met a priest, who had evidently had some previous knowledge of Westerners, for he opened the conversation by proposing, in "pidgeon" English, that we should give him a rupee.

About half an hour's slow walking took us to the temple, into the precincts of which we passed through a tall summer-house-looking building, open on every side, and supported by a number of wooden pillars, painted of the usual red colour, as was also the interior of the fantastically-constructed roof, which was, however, picked out with gilding and black lines. In some parts it was ornamented by representations of strange land and sea monsters, amongst which, of course, the imperial dragon stood pre-eminent, painted a light pea-green, which, in combination with the white ground-work upon which it was drawn, and with the red and gilding around, harmonised well. Chinese artists manage their arrangements of colour with taste and skill; they always use the brightest of tints, and yet

the general effect in no way offends the eye. This entrance building was not more than twenty feet square, and seemed as if designed merely for the protection of the large high marble slab standing beneath it. The stone was quite covered over by Chinese writing, carved most carefully upon it; above it a dragon was done in bas-relief, with its tail contorted into a puzzle-like figure. That fabulous animal holds a very similar position in China to that given to the lion and unicorn with us. It lends an air of imperial authority to all documents or books upon which it is drawn. Upon the marble slab it denoted that the writing underneath was an imperial edict, emanating from the vermilion pencil of royalty. The roof was in a very shattered condition, foretelling a speedy dissolution, unless some pious visitor, in hopes of thereby securing future good fortune, should pay for its repair. Immediately in front of this tumble-down-looking structure were the buildings forming the principal ecclesiastical establishment of the place. They were approached by a handsome bridge over an artificially-constructed reservoir. The bridge was one of the regular type common in all ornamental grounds of the empire. It consisted of one high arch built of granite, each stone being cut with the greatest mathematical exactness, all the quoins and copings tastefully carved with representations of fabulous or mythological beasts and reptiles.

Birds, also, are favourite subjects with the Chinese sculptor, particularly the stork, in the portraiture of whose long and graceful figure he is far happier than when he attempts quadrupedal animals, whose fore legs he invariably fails at signally, representing them

as broken down, very much after the manner of Mr. Briggs's horses in "Punch."

The balustrades were also of granite, but of a soft description, so that time had marked its course most visibly upon them to the improvement of the general effect, rounding off all the asperities of the original design. These artificial basins and small fish-ponds usually placed about buildings of importance, add considerably to the beauty of the place, and afford the architect opportunities of displaying his skill at bridge-building. Beyond the reservoir we ascended to a neatly flagged terrace, by a most novel sort of steps, partaking much of the character of a ramp or inclined plane, but shaped in an undulating manner so as to afford a good footing, all richly carved with grotesque figures and elaborate tracery. Standing upon the raised terrace were three large bronze incense urns, whose metal rang out in a fine full tone, when struck by the walking-sticks of our party. They were supported upon tripods and closely embossed over their entire surface with Chinese writing.

The general plan of the establishment consisted of three large temples, built one behind the other, upon raised terraces, each being at a higher level than the one in front of it: they were about eighty yards apart, the centre one being the principal structure. Each consisted of one large hall of lofty proportions, supported by massive pillars within, the outer walls being of substantial masonry. The doors were richly carved through in an openwork pattern done in some hard wood. As we approached, we found them open, but covered over with a rolling screen of white cotton cloth, on which

were stamped some moral precepts, illuminated by fanciful representations of alligator-like reptiles.

As we entered within the sacred precincts, it was at first most difficult to recognise any objects, the place seemed so dark from contrast with the strong light without.

All the places of worship upon Poo-too are especially dedicated to the Goddess of Mercy, a figure of whom stands in the most prominent position in every temple there. She does not, however, monopolise all the accommodation provided for Deity, as many other idols stand round about her, the obese form of the good-humoured looking Buddha in particular.

Standing and sitting around the walls in easy postures were the gilt representations of deified heroes or scholars, whilst martial-looking figures, upon a much smaller scale, occupied inferior positions around the lower platforms of the principal altar. The perfume of burning joss-stick and incense clung around everything within the building, but unfortunately did not quite overcome the heavy odour which the numerous red candles emitted in burning. These candles are always made of tallow, having a thin coating of wax mixed with flour outside. There were no carpets upon the floor, but there were a great many small cushions made of cane-work and soft straw, upon which those who were engaged in devotion knelt, facing the idols. Whilst we were in the place, priests kept buzzing about, replacing the burnt-out candles and joss-sticks by fresh ones. In doing so, they go through a ceremony very similar to that performed by Roman Catholic priests during the celebration of mass, as they raise the candles

aloft in both hands, and bow most humbly before them. Several very large drums, supported upon wooden stands, were placed about the building: some were so large and raised so high that it was necessary to mount three or four steps before one could strike them fairly. The vellum of each was ornamented with Chinese characters in vermilion ink, and a sort of bull's eye in the centre. Posted up upon the pillars and other conspicuous places, were printed placards of directions for the benefit of persons visiting the temples, instructing them in the conduct and ceremonies to be observed during devotion, interlarded with notices of "smoking is strictly prohibited," "the devout are not to make a noise." Magnificently toned bells of all sorts, shapes, and sizes were very numerous throughout the Poo-too temples, some of which, when struck, rang out in a clear musical sound, which, reverberating through the many compartments of the curiously-constructed ceilings, filled the place with a trembling harmony, deepened in effect by the low beating of the monster drums. I can well understand the uneducated and credulous man being strongly impressed by such sounds in such a place. The subdued light within lent to the very building itself an air of mystery, which the atmosphere loaded with perfume served to increase.

By exciting sensations of awe, the mind is prepared for the reception of spiritual and sacred subjects, and most likely to be affected by superstition. Under the influence of such sensations, feelings of devotion take possession of the mind, and the poor ignorant idolater bows down before the brazen images, whose ill-shaped

features, according to Chinese ideas, express the benevolence and sanctity of a God.

In all the temples, as you enter, there is a small square apartment upon the left-hand side : it is formed with screens, and is open towards the door of the main building with a counter along the opening. Behind this counter there was in all the temples which I visited, a priest seated, reading to himself, or in deep meditation, taking no notice of what was passing around him, but keeping his eyes fixed in one direction. In one instance, the monk thus engaged, was, or pretended to be, so lost in spiritual abstraction, that he not only took no notice of the "Barbarians'" intrusion, but never once winked or moved whilst we watched him, which we did steadily for about ten minutes. He remained without moving a muscle, just like a figure in Madame Tussaud's exhibition. It is one of the most favourite Buddhistic theories, that by a lengthened contemplation of holy subjects, and deep meditation upon the Deity, a sincere believer can think away his very identity, becoming, whilst so engaged, a part of the Supreme God himself. Reflection and frequent self-examination is enjoined in Chinese philosophy as well as in the vulgar religion of the multitude.

The priests wear no tails, having all their heads closely shaven. Their clothing was of a dirty dull grey, which corresponded well with the colour of their shaven crowns, lending them, doubtless, a very solemn air, but also adding to the general filthy effect of their appearance. A few of the superiors wore the pale yellow that all Buddhist priests are clothed with in Burmah, and a number of them wore black velvet hats,

something like that used by the Russo-Greek priests, only of smaller dimensions.

The residence of the abbot was situated behind the last of the three buildings, and stood upon a high terrace cut out of the hill, upon whose side the whole establishment was placed. We paid him a visit, and were received most courteously. He removed his hat when in the room with us out of compliment to our usages. We were served with tea at boiling temperature, but of what old women in England would consider a very weak nature. It was handed round in small China cups. Chinamen never drink water, so the teapot is always full with hot tea in their houses.

The abbot's house commanded a good panoramic view of the entire establishment over which he ruled. The terrace in front of his door was edged by stone balustrading of that perforated Arabesque tracery so very common in Mahomedan buildings in India.

An ingenious combination of circles, squares, triangles or other geometrical figures were the designs most commonly used. Along the terrace there were numbers of flower pots, filled with azalias, peonies, camellias and other flowering shrubs, the profusion of whose blossoms set off well the picturesque buildings in their immediate vicinity. The abbot's apartments were similar to those belonging to the middling classes. In his reception room there was the ordinary amount of chairs, tables, and curious pictures, some of which were ingeniously drawn upon one or two monster Chinese characters, marked out finely upon a large rolling sheet of paper. The word "foo" or happiness is one very commonly used thus, as also the character

standing for longevity. We were unable to obtain much information from these priests, for, besides being an ignorant class, they spoke a peculiar patois, which those of our party who spoke Chinese could understand but imperfectly. They told us that all the buildings upon the island belong to the present dynasty, so none can be more than two hundred years old, although time has handled some so roughly that they have the appearance of much greater antiquity. Very few Europeans visit the island; so, as might be expected, our sudden appearance within the precincts of its secluded temples caused a considerable commotion amongst the reverend gentlemen living there. These priests seem to be an idle, lazy lot; they possess none of that energy so remarkable in all other classes throughout China: judging from those I saw in the various temples of the place, they doze away most of their time during their sojourn in Poo-too. They look as if they never washed, and altogether present a most unprepossessing appearance.

It was very amusing upon suddenly entering some of these joss-houses to watch the astonished looks of horror presented by the lazy priests, upon being roused from their afternoon's siesta by hearing their gongs, bells, and drums, giving forth unwonted tones to the blows of walking-sticks and umbrellas. The dormitories and refectories were two-storied buildings, the upper rooms in many instances being used as store-rooms for spare idols. They were mostly built of wood, the windows consisting of wooden frames of curious patterns having thin white paper stretched over them. The tables were laid for the evening meal

in one of the dining-rooms that we inspected. The tables were only about eighteen inches in width, the stools being proportionably narrow, resembling rails, more than seats. As at the Roman feasts of old, one side of each table was left unoccupied, so as to afford the attendants room for placing the fare before the brethren.

Such an arrangement seems rather superfluous at an entertainment where the *carte* was so frugal in its supply of dainties, as only to allow of one course, and that simply consisting of rice and cabbage. A bowl of the commonest description of earthenware, and two chopsticks, were placed upon the table in front of each priest. They are only allowed two meals daily; and, according to their account, no variety of fare is ever permitted—nothing that possesses animal life is used by them for food. The cabbage they eat is a very coarse, rank-looking vegetable, and is either eaten fresh or salted, the latter being the usual method. A large quantity of it was lying about in the various courtyards, where it was being partially dried in the sun, previous to salting.

In the second of the two large temples which we visited, and which was furthest off from the landing-place, there was a female idol, which our priestly guide informed us had suddenly appeared from out of the ground about eighty years back, when the building in which she now sits was erected over her. Upon being asked how it was that she never went out for a walk, having by her appearance in Poo-too proved her power of locomotion, our guide said,—"Why should she, now that she has such a comfortable residence provided for

her?" This answer was a complete stopper to all further argument upon the subject, as no Chinaman can fancy a reasonable being moving about out of doors for mere amusement's sake. In this second large temple some portions of the building were in a dilapidated condition, and one wing had tumbled down bodily. In some other places they were actually erecting new temples, which seemed a strange proceeding, whilst the old ones were allowed to fall into ruins. In India this is also a very common practice, and although new mosques and temples are built yearly, one seldom or ever sees the old ones repaired. The second temple stood upon much higher ground than the first we had inspected, and being built upon the steep slope of a hill was much terraced out in its general plan. These terraces were some ten feet, one above the other, connected by flights of stone steps. The retaining walls of each were built of granite; the stones, instead of being rectangular, were all sorts of shapes and figures, fitting accurately one into the other, resembling the pieces in those ivory puzzle boxes with which so many quaint patterns can be formed. A good view of the narrow winding path, along which we had advanced to the temple, was visible from the upper terraces. The third of the three large temples upon the island was perched upon the top of the high hill standing at the back of the second one that we visited. A steep mountain path led to it, which, indeed, in most places, was simply a flight of steps, winding round the irregularities of the hill and taking advantage of all slopes and rocks which favoured the ascent. From beneath we could trace

this ladder-like road almost to the summit, except where, at some places, it turned sharply round some projecting cliffs, above which it soon again showed itself. As our indolent guide pointed out this path, he was most anxious to dissuade us from attempting the ascent, no doubt imagining that if we went we should insist upon his accompanying us.

The croaking of a lazy priest had no influence with us, so off we started, and hard work it proved to be. The continued strain upon the back sinews was what our American friends would call a "caution." For some time I really imagined that this path was the exception proving the rule about everything having an end. It appeared a Sisyphean undertaking; for the higher we mounted the further off we seemed to be from the top. From a long residence on board ship, most of us were in bad wind, so frequent halts for breath were necessary. During these pauses we had ample opportunities of admiring the scenery beneath us, with all its fast fleeting variety of colour and shadow, an effect which is only to be seen in climates where the atmosphere is clear, and the sun occasionally hidden from view by passing clouds, whose shapes are thus represented in broad shadows upon the earth beneath.

Having at last reached the level ground upon the top of the hill, and enjoyed a short rest after the fatigue of the ascent, we all considered ourselves well repaid by the beauty of the prospect before us, although, I fear, most of us would have hesitated at starting had we really known the steepness and length of the

way. The hill on top was covered with rich grass, having flowering shrubs planted in small plots at regular intervals through it. They were evidently carefully looked after. To our right, as we reached the highest point in the roadway, was a low square building, having a small glazed upper apartment, like what is usual in lighthouses at home. Although to reach it required a still further ascent, we determined upon making for it, and reached it after another ten minutes' scramble up the steep hill. No one was there, and it did not seem as if designed for a place of residence. The door was locked, but by climbing we succeeded in getting upon the flat roof of the lower story, out of the centre of which the glass room shot up. We could not succeed in making our way into the interior. A huge candlestick stood in the centre of it, around which the remains of many candles lay scattered or melted into unsightly lumps. I was unable to find out whether it was intended only for religious purposes, or as a guide at night to the Chinese mariners; I should fancy, however, the former, as a single wax candle, without reflectors, would show but little light to ships 1500 feet below. That was the highest point of Poo-too, and is known by the Chinese as Buddha's Peak. From it the long narrow ridge of hill forming the island ran off in a southerly direction for about two miles, ending abruptly in the sea, close to where we had landed. To the north-east it extended for about a mile and a half. In both directions it gave off numerous little spurs to the east and west, particularly to the former. One large promontory stretched away to the east of where we stood, being thus at right

angles to the principal ridge. The average breadth of the island was about half or three quarters of a mile. As we stood upon the high peak, gazing out upon "that sea and sky," we felt that we had been well repaid for the exertion we had undergone. The glorious panorama around us, seemed almost too lovely to be real.

Separated from us by a channel of about two miles in width, the hilly island of Chusan rose up from the sea upon the west, whose wooded nooks and promontories contrasted well with the bleak, barren cliffs of which some of the neighbouring islands are composed. North, south, and east, were tiny little islets, some green with grass, others presenting all the variegated tints of red and grey, which granite, when long exposed to the weather and the waves, generally exhibits.

The water was calm and transparent, looking over whose surface we saw a regular swarm of fishing boats manœuvring, as if at some game of follow the leader, none ever seeming to straggle from the main body.

Having descended from Buddha's Peak, and reached the paved road again, by which we had ascended from below, and continued along it for a few hundred yards, we came to the third of the three large monastic buildings for which Poo-too is celebrated. It was situated in a grove of camellia trees of from twenty to thirty feet in height, all rich with blossoms. The temple was on a much smaller scale than either of the other two we had previously visited, but its gardens, terraces, and buildings, were in a much better state of preservation. Its ornaments and ceremonial appurtenances

were similar to those in the other temples. The style of architecture was also alike; there were the same curiously contrived roofs, morticed and joined in that same inexplicable manner, in which the several blocks of ivory are let into one another in the common Chinese puzzles. There was the usual amount of bells, and gongs shaped like leather-cutters, and in fact all the ordinary concomitants of carving and painting. A number of priests, assisted by a few coolies, were employed in sorting and collecting the cabbage, of which I have previously spoken, and which was strewn about the various terraces to be dried.

This was the only useful employment that I saw any of the priests upon the island engaged in during our visit to it; the small cultivated fields, in which that vegetable is grown, are tilled by a few coolies, maintained upon the island for that purpose. The ecclesiastical service did not, however, appear to be a profitable one, for all these farm servants were miserably clad and extremely dirty. One whom I saw at the last temple had allowed all his hair to grow. As such is one of the distinctive marks of Tai-pings, we asked him if he was a rebel. He said no; that he only allowed his hair to grow because he could not afford to shave. He was evidently skilled in the arts of begging, as he at once prostrated himself before us when we entered, saying, "Ye are gods; I will worship you."

In the evening we returned to our ship, highly pleased with our visit to the sacred island of Poo-too. It was peculiarly adapted for the formation of a sana-

torium upon it, having in its many temples good accommodation for 2000 invalids.

If such an establishment had become necessary at any time during the war, Sir Hope Grant had decided upon forming it at Poo-too.

We weighed anchor that same evening and sailed for Hong-kong.

CHAP. III.

ASPECT OF AFFAIRS AT CANTON. — DISPOSITION OF THE EXPEDITIONARY ARMY. — ITS DEPARTURE FROM HONG-KONG. — VOYAGE TO SHANGHAI. — DESCRIPTION OF THAT CITY. — ARRIVAL AT WEI-HEI-WEI, AND DESCRIPTION OF THE PLACE. — DESCRIPTION OF TALIENWAN BAY AND SURROUNDING COUNTRY. — PLAN OF OPERATIONS. — DESCRIPTION OF CHE-FOO AND THE FRENCH CAMP THERE. — LANDING OF OUR TROOPS AT TALIENWAN. — DEPARTURE OF THE ARMY FROM THENCE AND VOYAGE TO THE RENDEZVOUS OFF THE PEH-TANG-HO.

In May and June the aspect of affairs at Canton became serious. The rebels seemed intelligent enough to appreciate the advantages they might derive from our war with the Pekin Government. In fact, under ordinary circumstances, our descent upon the shores of Pechili would have been the most favourable diversion which could have been made to help them; but as our war was of that peculiarly anomalous character which caused us to protect Imperial interests in the south, whilst we gave battle to his Majesty's troops in the north, our hostilities were not calculated to affect the rebel question as much as might be expected by a casual observer. However, the very fact of our being at war in any part of the Empire naturally strengthened the Tai-pings, and they appeared to be preparing themselves to take advantage of the fact. Their forces kept pressing in about the districts surrounding Canton, gaining continual victories over the

badly led and ill-disposed Imperial troops. One large Tai-ping army was reported to be within sixty miles of that city, the wealthy inhabitants of which were in considerable alarm. Our force stationed there consisted of the 87th Fusiliers, two regiments of Bombay Native Infantry, some engineers, artillery and a strong European military police. We held, in conjunction with the French marines ashore there, all the commanding positions in or around the city, and we had several heavily-armed gunboats lying opposite to it in the river. Notwithstanding this display of power upon our parts, there was a great feeling of insecurity amongst the people, who, seeing the rebels ever victorious over the Imperial troops, inferred naturally that we, who had been so lately defeated by the latter, would all the more easily give way before those forces which daily prove themselves superior to that same power which had defeated us the year before. Crowds of the poor country people came pouring into Canton, flying thither from the rebel cruelties. The local authorities there had great difficulty in finding food or employment for such numbers. By that clause of the former treaty which demanded the re-establishment of our factories at Canton, the authorities there were obliged to clear away a certain space near the city as a site for them. As this was a work of great extent, requiring a vast amount of labour in its execution, the Mandarins employed men, women, and children, at removing the rubbish of the old factories, and in preparing the ground for their new situation. In this way a large number of the refugees from the country were provided for. Out-door relief was also afforded to

thousands in the neighbouring villages, in order to prevent them from flocking into the town, as any great sudden increase to the population of a Chinese city is ever attended with danger to the public peace. It was surprising how very little information we could obtain regarding Chinese affairs in the north. The only news we received came through the Jesuit missionaries; but as their position in China previous to our war now finished, was far from independent, they were unable to tell us much that could be of any real use. According to them, the Takoo forts at the mouth of the Peiho had been greatly strengthened, and a large Tartar army was encamped in their vicinity; that the Government was most confident in their strength, considering victory as certain; Sang-ko-lin-sin was commander-in-chief, and at the head of the war party, which was all-powerful in Pekin, Kweiliang leading the opposition or peace party.

Towards the latter end of May all preparations for our campaign in the north were completed, and the troops embarked, the army being organised as follows: —

The 1st division, consisting of the 1st Regiment (Royals); 2nd Regiment (Queen's); 31st Regiment; 60th Regiment (Rifles); 15th Punjaub Infantry; Loodianah Regiment; Lieut.-Colonel Barry's and Captain Desborough's batteries of Royal Artillery; Lieut.-Colonel Fisher's company of Royal Engineers — all under the command of Major-General Sir John Michel, K.C.B.

The 2nd division, consisting of the 3rd Regiment (Buffs); 44th Regiment; 67th Regiment; 99th Regiment; 8th Punjaub Infantry; 19th Punjaub Infantry;

Captains Moubray's and Govan's batteries of Royal Artillery; and Major Graham's company of Royal Engineers — all under the command of Major-General Sir Robert Napier, K.C.B.

The Cavalry Brigade, consisting of two squadrons of the 1st or King's Dragoon Guards; Probyn's Horse (1st Sikh Cavalry); Fane's Horse; and Captain Millward's battery of Royal Artillery — all under the command of Brigadier Pattle, C.B.

There was also a battery of mountain guns manned by Madrassees, about 250 Madras sappers and miners, and a small siege-train with Major Pennycuick's company of Royal Artillery.

The total strength amounting to 14,000 of all ranks.

Our hired transports numbered 120, and our royal navy force consisted of seventy pennants, counting gunboats.

Several fine steamers had been fitted up as hospitals, under the superintendence of Dr. Muir, C.B., the principal medical officer to the expedition.

Ample stores of tents, camp equipage, &c. &c., together with all requisites for an army in the field, were sent north along with the troops.

England has never before opened a campaign with such a well-organised or a more efficient force. Nothing that could add to the health or comfort of the men was neglected, and all that talent or ability could do, to render an army perfect, was provided for.

The infantry that were to make the voyage to the Gulf of Pechili in sailing vessels left Hong-kong about the middle of May.

In order that the horses should be on board ship

for as short a time as possible, the cavalry and horsed batteries of artillery were to be towed up by steamers, making the voyage in a shorter time. Consequently they did not leave until the beginning of June.

In March, April and May, the north-east monsoon blows down the coast of China, dying away, however, towards the end of May, the wind veering round then and blowing from the south-west. To tow large transports against the monsoon is out of the question, so the expected change in the weather was anxiously looked forward for by every one, as the month of May approached its conclusion.

On Friday the 1st June the weather was considered by the Admiral as sufficiently settled for a start, so all the cavalry transports got under weigh, the men-of-war steamers taking them in tow by twos and threes. During the night it came on to blow hard in the wrong direction, and continued doing so for the two following days. None of the vessels could make any way against it, so one by one they all put back into Hong-kong, some seriously the worse for their cruise, and all bearing about them evidences of having endured rough weather.

Towing steamers in bad weather is a most difficult operation; the ships run foul of the steamers and these latter run into the ships; bulwarks are knocked in and rigging carried away. However, the officers of our navy take all such little misfortunes as matters of course, and set to work immediately after each, as if such had necessarily formed a part of the operation.

In a few days all our vessels were again ready for another start.

Admiral Hope seemed determined that the nautical superstition about sailing on a Friday should be well tested, for on Friday the 8th June all the transports again weighed anchor and put to sea. The ill-luck which is said usually to attend all expeditions so commenced, made itself felt again, for the fleet encountered such strong head winds, that it was forced to put into the shelter afforded by Lam-yit island, which had been named before starting as a half-way rendezvous in case of bad weather.

The coast of China between Hong-kong and Shanghai was uninteresting looking, wherever we had any opportunities of seeing it. At some few points there were hills with bold outlines stretching away inland, but generally the country looked barren near the sea. Numbers of fishing villages stand along the coast, the inhabitants of which depend mainly upon their lines and nets for subsistence. They are a most hardy people, inured from childhood to maritime occupations, and ever ready to act as pirates, when opportunities present themselves for doing so. Their little fishing boats are to be met with a long way out to sea, even in rough weather, generally sailing in large squadrons, as a precaution against piratical attacks.

It seems strange that China, with her immense seaboard and her great fishing population of brave and hardy fishermen, should be still so backward in naval science. With the magnetic compass in their possession for ages past they have never made long voyages, and have almost exclusively confined their maritime expeditions to their own coast and its neighbouring islands. With the material ever at her dis-

posal, China, if under a strong and enlightened government, is capable of being made the greatest naval power in the world. What if, in some future time, a "Peter the Great" should arise in China? Such an event might change the whole face of the inhabited globe, and the coasts of Europe experience the miseries of barbarian inroads, to which those of the Goths and Vandals by land were but as child's play.

We put into Shanghai for a few days, when on our way towards the north, and had time for an inspection of that place and its neighbourhood. Shanghai—meaning in English, "the upper sea," is situated upon the left bank of the Woosung river, or rather creek, which connects the numerous lakes in the Kiang-su province with the Yang-tse-kiang. Shanghai is an old walled city, and a place of very great native trade.

All celestial cities bear a strong resemblance one to the other. Narrow, ill-paved streets, swarming with leprous-looking beggars; dirt, filth, and every conceivable stench abounding everywhere, are the principal characteristics of the mural dens of abomination yclept cities in China. The walls were of brick, and had suffered both from time and cannon shot; they were being repaired, and the ditches were being deepened. Numbers of rusty old cannon peered through the ridiculously constructed embrasures, and others were being mounted: guards of native soldiers were at the gates, but the men were ill-clothed and worse armed; their only mark distinguishing them from the commonalty, was a circular piece of white calico sewn on behind to their loose-sleeved jackets; upon this calico badge was written the name of the regiment

and company to which they belonged, some being styled the "bravest of the brave," "loyal volunteers," and such like high-sounding titles. Hung around the walls in conspicuous places were small wooden cages containing each a human head; some of these had been hanging there since the place had been retaken from the rebels, others were of much more recent date, being the heads of pirates and those who had been convicted of assisting in the kidnapping of coolies by the Americans and French, about which there had been such serious commotion.

There were large tea-gardens within the city, where all the rockery, high-arched bridges and tiny little islands, so common in all such places in China, were in abundance: the picture in the well known willow pattern gives a very fair idea of what they are like. The ponds of water were extremely dirty, there being no current through them. Upon the island were some little joss-houses, several theatres, tea-shops, restaurants, peep-shows without number, itinerant jugglers and mountebanks of all sorts, besides a proportion of fortune-tellers, who seem to drive a good trade. These last-mentioned used in their pretended revelations a small board about eighteen inches square, which they kept wet upon one side with a species of blue paint, which they rubbed off with the forefinger or nail into all sorts of curious representations of birds or beasts, executed with the greatest rapidity and artistic skill. I only stopped to examine one juggler's performance; it was most indifferent, the interest in it evidently consisting in the chaff which he maintained all through with his audience.

The European settlement of Shanghai extends along the river to the north of the native city. When viewed from the water it presents a fine appearance, the houses being very well built, and having pretty gardens in front; there is a well-to-do air about them, which proclaims that mercantile operations in China pay well. A long quay runs in front of the houses between them and the river, which forms the usual promenade of the place; from it long lines of houses run at right angles. Building ground has risen greatly in value, and the rent of houses is most exorbitant. Several countries have consuls there: the English consulate is a fine large building, standing in a conspicuous place. The English and American influence was, before the war, all-powerful; but since the establishment of a French force within the settlement, our allies share it along with us.

Shanghai is a strange example of a place where there is no generally recognised authority and no regularly established laws. The land upon which the settlement has been built, is rented from the Chinese authorities, but all the local improvements, in the way of roads, quays, &c., are paid for by the foreign community; each nation maintains its own police. Upon arriving there we found every one panic-stricken; the rebels had lately made themselves masters of the important town of Soochow, and were steadily advancing towards Shanghai, which they announced their intention of taking at all hazards. All the Chinese merchants were flying from the place, taking their goods and families with them. Most of the native shops were closed in the city, and where only a month before hundreds of trading junks lay at anchor, scarcely

one of any size remained; the few boats still plying about were engaged in the removal of furniture and other property. Ho, the governor of the province, who had been residing in Shanghai since the loss of Soochow, had sent his family away to Chee-foo, to which place thousands of other people had also fled. All trade had ceased, and alarm prevailed everywhere. Numbers of wretched people, who had lost all their property in Soochow or other places taken by the rebels, came flocking in daily, crowding the streets and begging for bread at the very doors of our merchants. Large subscriptions were made for them, and the money distributed under the superintendence of the Protestant clergymen. Our mercantile community were uneasy about their property; and all knew that their lives would be in danger if the rebels poured down upon the place. At the earnest entreaty of the Chinese officials, a battalion of Royal Marines was landed and quartered in those places around the settlement and city, where they might command the approaches to the place and at the same time find accommodation. The north gate, a joss-house on the Soochow creek and the Ningpo guild-house, were accordingly occupied, and fitted up at the Mandarins' expense as barracks for our men. A house was hired within our settlement as quarters for 200 men with officers. This being a central point, was strengthened by three small guns; the French also held a gate of the city, and occupied some houses within the place. The Loodianah Regiment of Sikhs was ordered up from Hong-kong, and the 11th Punjaub Regiment was subsequently added to the garrison. The neighbour-

hood of Shanghai abounds in defensible positions, and the line of defence which we had taken up was further strengthened by fortifying some detached houses and constructing some little fieldworks toward the flanks. The Soochow creek, which was navigable for some distance for our gunboats, enabled us to bring a cross fire from thence upon an enemy approaching the settlement. Ho, the Governor-General, called upon Mr. Bruce, our minister, and proposed that we should send a force up to Soochow and retake that place. If we consented he was kind enough to promise that he would write to Pekin and inform his Celestial Majesty of our valuable services, and added that he had no doubt we should thus obtain easily all that we demanded. The Russian minister arrived from Pekin during our stay at Shanghai.

Shanghai, for a stranger, is one of the dullest places under heaven; for a man without any employment there never was a more dreadful station. Nothing but a desire to grow rich could induce men to reside there; one racket court, no club, a stiflingly hot room, surrounded by book shelves, called by the inhabitants a library, a dismal-looking race-course enclosed by deep and unwholesome-looking ditches, are the places of public amusement.

If, however, hospitality can in any way compensate for all drawbacks in a locality, Shanghai is peculiarly happy. The English merchant princes of China, if they know how to make money, most certainly know how to spend it regally. The open house kept by one firm at all our ports in China exceeds in liberality and kindness anything of the sort I have ever even

heard of, whilst all others, on scales commensurate with their means, follow the brilliant example thus set to them. Our principal amusement during our stay at Shanghai was in boating expeditions up the river, and walking excursions into the country. A fine pagoda stands near the river, about six miles above the city. It is evidently of comparatively recent construction, being in good repair all through ; it is about one hundred feet in height, and stands upon a small creek which empties itself, at about a mile's distance, into the Woosung river. It is six stories high, and commands from the top a fine, extensive view over the surrounding country. There is no part of the world to which distance lends more enchantment to the scenery than in China. When actually amongst the highly-manured fields of that empire, the olfactory organs are so rudely assailed by the variety of stenches, always encountered by the inexperienced traveller who seeks for rural pleasures, amidst the corn-growing farms of the "flowery land," that a second trip across the fields is seldom taken. These same localities, when viewed from some elevated spot or building to which the foul odours from manure cannot penetrate, present generally a most pleasing picture. Looking around from this pagoda, I was much struck by the rural beauty of the scene. As far as the eye could see, it rested upon well tilled and highly cultivated fields without hedges or walls ; in every direction junks are to be seen sailing or being towed along by men. At first sight they seem as if going in some mysterious manner overland, as no water is visible anywhere ; but upon closer examination the muddy banks of small canals may be dis-

covered, which form a regular network over the country, and serve not only as the boundaries of property, but as the highways of the province. These quaint boats, with their odd-looking combination of bamboos and matting which pass for sails in China, form most picturesque objects in a landscape. With the exception of the fruit trees growing around the farm-houses, the only other trees to be seen are stunted willows and a few sallows overhanging the steep, slimy banks of the numerous creeks. Small hamlets and neatly-constructed cottages lay dotted about over the plain, each and all possessing a well-stocked orchard or vegetable garden. No grass land or meadows were to be seen anywhere; every little nook being carefully dug or ploughed. The only spots untouched by the spade were those where the coffins of deceased fathers, mothers, or other relations lay overground. In the neighbourhood of Shanghai interment is very rare. When a man dies his son puts the body into a well-made coffin, and either keeps it in the house with him, or places it carefully on a dry spot in his farm; sometimes, if his means permit, building a tiny shed over it, or thatching it over with straw. In the attack upon Shanghai by the Imperialists, when that place was in possession of the rebels, these coffins were freely used by the besiegers in the construction of their batteries; and, indeed, in the attack upon any Chinese city they should have to be used extensively in such works. There being no underwood or other material suitable for gabions, coffins would supply their place most admirably. The creek upon which the pagoda stood was spanned by a bridge, near its confluence with the river. This bridge, like all

those of stone which I saw in that part of the country, consisted simply of high stone piers, between which were laid long slabs of granite, some being twenty-five feet from one bearing point to the other. A *tête de pont* had been lately constructed for its defence, which in make, appearance, and, I should imagine, substantiality, was about as formidable as the cardboard castles which we see in theatres: it consisted of thin mud walls, castellated at top with fraises in front, of about the same strength as Japan toothpicks. Its garrison was about a hundred of the very dirtiest looking rabble, who lay about sleeping, smoking, or gambling; their arms were a few long, unmeaning-looking spears, and some rusty matchlocks and jingalls. The theatrical effect of the scene was considerably heightened by a large assortment of flags of all sorts of colours and shapes. Judging from the *tout ensemble* of the place and its defenders, I should fancy that a spirited attack made by a few old women armed with pokers and dustpans would meet with success.

When returning from one of these trips up the river, we fell in with a large fleet of armed junks all crowded with soldiers. They were anchored a little above the city, but were then beating gongs, burning joss-sticks, letting off crackers, and firing guns almost every minute, which were certain indications of a move. In case of an attack upon Shanghai by the rebels, this armed rabble would most probably have either joined them or at least have helped to plunder the place. So their presence was considered dangerous, and they were, in consequence, ordered by our authorities to go down the river to Woosung, which is twelve miles below

our settlement. In the evening they all weighed anchor and sailed down past our men-of-war in grand procession, colours flying from every mast, gongs beating, and firing blank ammunition whilst near our ships, making altogether as pretty a little piece of naval pageantry as I have ever seen.

There is a very fine cathedral belonging to the French Jesuits standing upon the river south of Shanghai. Its exterior is ugly in the extreme, but within every attention is paid to effect, coloured paper being used instead of stained glass for the windows, which throws a subdued light upon the interior. A number of very badly executed oil paintings are hung around the walls, amongst which I looked in vain for the representation of the holy mother, described by some recent tourist as drawn with small feet. Like many other travellers' stories it was amusing, but untrue. There is, however, one large painting, representing a heavenly party, the male figures in which are drawn with tails, and in Chinese costume. We were shown over the church by a fat China boy, who said he was a Christian, and as we were upon the point of leaving, we were joined by a French priest, dressed so exactly after the fashion of the country, that I should never have known him to be a European, had I met him in the streets. One of our party was completely taken in, and remarked when we left the place, "How very well that Chinaman spoke French."

Upon leaving Shanghai, three days' easy steaming in calm weather took us into the Gulf of Pechili.

The plan of operations agreed upon for the campaign, was that the French should rendezvous at Che-foo,

where there was a small bay affording tolerable anchorage, and good protection in bad weather. There was a considerable town of that name upon the bay, from which our allies hoped to draw supplies, the Shantung province being rich in cattle, of which (and of draught animals in particular) they were much in want. It was intended to fortify some position there, in which a small garrison should be left when the army started for the Peiho. Che-foo was too small for both armies, good fresh water being scarce, and the bay too limited in extent for our immense fleet.

There were only two other places which, according to our charts, and the reconnaissance made along all the gulf's coasts by Colonel Fisher, R.E., would answer for our purposes. These were Wei-hei-wei and Talienwan, the former situated upon the western shore of the Gulf of Pechili.

The ship I was in touched there, so I had an opportunity of inspecting the place.

Our party started from the Grenada in three boats, and made for a small village to the north of the town, situated on the northern shore of the bay in which we anchored. As we neared the place we saw hundreds of people collecting from all sides to greet us upon landing. Close by, upon an elevated part of the beach, two guns were in position, but no battery had been constructed for their protection.

The houses of the village were built in most accurately laid-out lines, coming down close to the water's edge, and looking as neat and clean as those of the best and nicest watering-place in England. They were almost all thatched, some with straw, but most of them

with a peculiar description of white sea-weed, which seemed to stand the weather remarkably well. Each house had a chimney, consisting of a large, round flue of earthenware, burnt in one piece. What was so striking in the appearance of the houses was the excellence of the wood-work, the doors and windows all fitting accurately, and being well-finished. Of course there was no glass, paper being used instead, as it is everywhere throughout China. The houses were almost exclusively built of granite. The blocks were all cut or broken so as to fit closely together, and as they were of every description of curious rectilineal figure, triangles and hexagons mixed up indiscriminately, and the joinings carefully pointed with black cement, the side of a house seemed as if covered with a gigantic spider's web. I have never before seen any town or village in which there did not seem to be at least a few houses falling into decay from neglect or other causes; but here, no such addition was made to the general picturesque appearance of the place; for not only were the roofs all neatly and regularly thatched, but the eaves and ridges were mathematically parallel.

Our interpreter having landed and procured a guide, we pulled round the bay, and landed on the open beach, which runs in front of the east side of the walled city, and about 500 yards from it. The beach is steep, and looks as if well beaten by waves occasionally. About a dozen trading junks were drawn up along it, mostly laden with corn, which they were discharging. Stretching inland from the shore there were about a hundred yards of deep sand, and then cultivation up to the city walls. Men and boys were busily engaged in reaping

when we landed, and some fields had already been cut, while others were being ploughed. The plough used is something like that so universal throughout India, but cuts deeper, having a double iron blade. The implement they were reaping with was a short scythe, used in a manner similar to that of our reaping-hook. There were no paddy-fields, and I doubt even the possibility of cultivating rice in these parts, owing to the absence of running streams, and the soil not being capable of holding water after rain. Well fed and tended mules were used for ploughing, but in some places there were small oxen, and on the island Lung-meau-doweah, which shelters the harbour on the east side, I saw donkeys, and, in one instance, two donkeys with a bullock yoked in between them. I was amused when passing under the walls into the city to find that, although the fortifications had been recently repaired, there were no doors or gates, and no attempt had apparently ever been made to secure this most important part of a city's defences. Within the city were numerous fields and gardens, the former growing corn and other crops, not usually met with in a fortified city. The houses were few, the streets wide, cleanly kept, and devoid of those horrors and that filth which one invariably sees in large cities of the south. We paid a visit to the civil mandarin of the place, with whom we partook of some of the common beverage of the country, which refreshes without intoxicating; and having informed him that we should very probably land in a few days with a large force, we bade him adieu, leaving him much less happy than he had been previous to our visit. Our inquiries regarding water were not success-

ful. But as we thought that the mandarin's assurances regarding its deficiency might have arisen from interested motives, we resolved upon making a tour of inspection round the country the following day.

The harbour is a bad one, being open to both north-east and south-east winds; so that the nautical portion of the expedition did not look upon it with very loving eyes. The country around is hilly in all directions. There is very little wood, and the upper slopes have a reddish and barren appearance.

On the following morning shooting parties started off in several directions, and staff officers in search of game and water were to be seen in all sorts of distant and out-of-the-way corners of the neighbourhood. Towards noon all returned, having failed to discover any running water, and even wells were found to be scarce. The island of Lung-meau, which is close by, was also explored, but without satisfactory results. The country everywhere gave evidence of an English climate; and the absence of all appliances for artificial irrigation proved that rain was frequent, and did not fall, as is usual in tropical climates, in great quantities at particular times and seasons. Large piles of oyster shells were heaped up at different places in all the villages, but I was unable to procure any of the fish. However, the shells closely resembled those of the oysters which we got at Talienwan and found so good. These shells, when burnt, afford the only lime procurable in this place. What strikes one as so strange in a country essentially agricultural, is the small number of birds to be seen anywhere; even the universally-met-with sparrow is, comparatively speaking, seldom to be found

here; and if swallows are necessary to "make a summer," one might almost doubt the existence of such a season in these regions. Unlike the towns in the south, there were but very few pigs or dogs; and although vegetable life, with extreme care on the part of the farmer, seemed to thrive tolerably well on the low lands, yet the great scarcity of water appeared to check even animal fecundity, and the population all along this coast, in marked contrast to the thickly inhabited portions of the empire, was very small indeed.

Talienwan Bay is upon the eastern shores of the Gulf of Pechili opening out to the south-east. It is about eight miles in width, and has within it again one or two smaller bays, where ships can ride safely in all weathers. The shores are everywhere enclosed with barren-looking hills, averaging from two to seven hundred feet in height. To the north of the bay stands a rocky, conically-shaped mountain of about 2000 feet high, which is visible at sea for a long distance, and thus formed a fine landmark for all vessels making for the place of our rendezvous. It has been named Sampson's Peak in our lately-executed charts. There are several villages along the shores of the bay, all neat and clean, closely resembling those we had seen at Wei-hei-wei, but of somewhat humbler pretensions: all arable ground was cultivated, but the soil seemed light and not very productive. At one or two places there are tiny little streams, which, when properly managed, are capable of affording a good water supply. There are also wells in every village, and water was found near the surface in most places when dug for. A promontory jutting out into the bay upon its eastern

side, forms a well-protected harbour, which might easily be defended. A village stands upon it, affording accommodation for a small force. This was selected as the position for the depôt which it was our intention to leave behind, and fieldworks were at once commenced for its protection. Our naval surveyors named the spot Odin Bay. There is a great scarcity of firewood all along the coast of Talienwan, which is a serious want.

It was intended that, when our allies had completed all their preparations, the two armies, leaving behind them their depôts of stores at Che-foo and Talienwan respectively, should sail northward upon the same day and effect a landing, the French at Chi-kiang-ho, twenty-five miles south of the Peiho, the English at Peh-tang, about ten miles north of that place. The landing of the armies accomplished, an advance was to be made upon the position around the mouth of the Peiho, simultaneously by both, the French attacking the forts upon the south bank, whilst our troops assaulted those upon the north bank of that river. The forts once in our possession, it was hoped that the Chinese would give in and accept the terms we offered. In the event of their failing to do so at once, an advance upon Tien-tsin was to be made or at least threatened. It is generally said, that in war, you should inflict the greatest possible amount of damage upon your enemy in as short a time as practicable. This maxim did not however hold good with regard to our lately finished Chinese campaign. In all hostile operations in that country we were obliged to be more careful of the true interests of the Imperial Government than they

were themselves. Our commercial relations bound us up more or less with it, and depended so intimately upon its maintenance, and its ability to protect the native producers, that next to a defeat the greatest misfortune which could, politically speaking, attend us in the war, was a great victory, whose effects would be so crushing that the entire fabric of government might be in danger. The fact of there being actually within the empire a pretender to the throne, who had already held good his position for nearly eight years, and who held the ancient capital, from whence he ruled over a very large portion of the country, made a defeat all the more likely to prove fatal to his Celestial Majesty. Should we overturn his rule, anarchy was certain to ensue, and all trade cease. With John Bull his commerce is of greater moment than revenge for past injuries or the maintenance of national honour. If the object to be gained in and by the war had been only to retrieve the defeat of 1859, and prove our superiority in arms, an advance upon Pekin, should such a serious operation be found practicable, would have been the main thing to achieve. As circumstances existed, such was with us of all things to be avoided. The war was far from popular in England, and every one was anxious that it should be finished quickly, and the regiments employed in it brought home. It was feared that if we marched towards Pekin from Tien-tsin, the Emperor and his ministers might fly from the capital, and that, upon our becoming masters of it, we should not find any government to treat with. These matters had not of course any weight with our allies, as they have no commercial interests to guard, and a bulletin in the "Moniteur,"

dated from the world-known capital of China, would flatter the vanity of all Frenchmen. As despatches detailing victories in all sorts of odd corners of the earth are too common in England to be appreciated in the same manner, our interests were clearly to avoid any advance beyond the sea-coast line, if possible. In the event, however, of affairs turning out differently from what we hoped they would, it was determined that each nation should make a base of operation for itself somewhere upon the shores of the Gulf of Pechili. It was known that along the coast near Takoo the ice in winter prevented all approach for several months, but that at Talienwan and Che-foo, where there was deep water, no ice impeded the navigation: these places were accordingly fixed upon, and depôts of stores collected at them.

At Che-foo a rocky promontory juts out into the sea, where our allies constructed their camp and erected works for its defence. Whilst making their final arrangements for the campaign our allies were encamped there, living in their *tentes d'abri*. Although latterly the weather was very warm, there was but little sickness in their army. By covering over their little tents with matting they succeeded in making them endurable, which, without some protection of the kind, they never could have been under such a sun. Close by this tongue of land, upon which they had pitched their camp, was the town of Che-foo, which had once been a fortified place, the walls being still standing, but out of repair everywhere and ruinous in some places. Near the camp was a sort of suburb to the old city, the houses of which were converted into

stores and hospitals by our allies. A considerable amount of very fine timber lay about in piles ready for use, which the French sappers quickly turned into planking, with which they constructed comfortable quarters. Their camp was very compact and neatly laid out, and order seemed well kept around. I never saw so many men on duty in a small place before—I should fancy that nearly one third of their whole force was continually upon guard. By this means all plundering was prevented, and the country people, in consequence, gained confidence, so that very soon after our allies arrived, a good market was established, in which fowl, fruit and vegetables were to be purchased at reasonable prices; pigs were also brought in, but only a few cows, and no sheep were to be had. A considerable number of fine mules were also obtained by their commissariat at prices varying from twenty to forty dollars. Some of these animals were extremely vicious, and most of them very intractable, until after a time they became accustomed to their new owners; but all were in good condition. I walked round the neighbourhood during my visit there, and can testify to the regularity and order maintained by the French troops, for all round the camp were well-stocked vegetable gardens, in which the natives were working just as if no foreign invaders were near them. Upon the beach the little gunboats which had come out in pieces from France were being put together. They were made entirely of iron, there being fifteen pieces to each boat, which, when put together, formed three water-tight compartments. The whole was fastened by screws, with a layer of vulcanised India-rubber between each joining.

Each boat was constructed for one rifled cannon. The surf which beat in upon the beach was a serious obstacle to their construction. All the female portion of the inhabitants had left the place and gone, I suppose, inland.

In a few days after the arrival of our transport fleet at Talienwan, the vessels were taken in close to shore at the several points where it was determined to encamp the troops. Owing to there being at no one place any large supply of water, it was found necessary to distribute the divisions and brigades. The 1st division, under Sir John Michel, K.C.B., was to encamp upon the west of Victoria Bay; the 2nd division, under Sir Robert Napier, K.C.B., at Hand Bay; the cavalry and artillery at Odin Bay; the Military Train at Bustard Cove and at a small stream which falls into Victoria Bay near where the 1st division was to land. Watering-places for horses and for the ships were at once commenced, and all the usual busy work of camp life entered upon.

For several days after their first landing our men fed sumptuously upon oysters, which were found in large quantities along the shores of the bay. These oysters were very small, but well-flavoured: they acted powerfully upon the bowels, and some who indulged too freely in them, were seized with pains which resembled English cholera. Some asserted it was owing to there being no letter R in the month's name. With trifling exceptions of that nature, there was no sickness amongst our troops during their sojourn ashore at Talienwan.

A proclamation was drawn out in Chinese and distributed throughout the neighbouring villages, informing the people that we intended to treat them

well and pay liberally for all supplies they brought to us, indicating at the same time the several localities at which our markets were being established. All those who should at any time receive ill-treatment from any one belonging to our army were directed to call upon the civil officers in charge of the markets, who understood Chinese, and would inquire into all grievances: while all those whose fields or crops had been injured by our camps were directed to send in claims stating the value of the damage, for which they were informed that a fair remuneration would be given.

At first when we landed all the inhabitants fled, but after a few days had elapsed they regained confidence, and kept returning daily: scarcely any women, however, made their appearance. Many of the farmers gathered in their crops during our stay there; and, latterly, a large supply of goats, sheep, cows, oxen, fowl, eggs, and some little vegetables were brought in daily for sale. Our soldiers were of course easily kept in order; but the Chinese coolies were incorrigible. No amount of punishment could impress upon them the difference between *meum* and *tuum*. These men being all from the neighbourhood of Canton could not make themselves understood by the people of the place who spoke nothing but the Mandarine dialect. That dialect is universal in the northern parts of China, so that all our interpreters (who had been educated in the Consular Service) found themselves much more at home there than when in the south of the empire, where none but the officials and highly educated speak or even understand the Mandarine language.

The people, in appearance, were a very fine but very ugly race: their carriage was remarkably good; the men having a manly look about them which is seldom to be seen in Asiatics. Their features are small, and bronzed to almost a copper colour; even the young men's faces were deeply furrowed with hard wrinkles, and certainly two thirds of all I saw were badly marked with small-pox. Beards and moustaches are much commoner than in the south. The clothing worn by male children is of the most primitive fashion, consisting merely of an apron fastened with strings over the shoulders and around the waist. The pattern must have been handed down to the present generation from that made of fig-leaves by our first parents; this fashion was also common in Shan-tung.

Whilst waiting at Talienwan until the French completed their arrangements, our time was passed in reviews, inspections, games for the men, and walking excursions into the country. Some places near our camps were really pretty, and well repaid the pedestrian for his hard work in climbing the steep and rocky ridges which ran along the coast, separating it from the interior. The fields under cultivation were thickly strewn with loose stones, and a rough shingle covered the hill-sides. In some localities there were large numbers of wild pigeons, but as they were the only birds to be shot, and as the guns were numerous, a considerable diminution had taken place in their numbers before we had been many days ashore. During these excursions inland, we invariably found the inhabitants civil and obliging. When we entered or approached a village, crowds of men and boys sur-

rounded us, gazing upon us with as much curiosity as we should, I suppose, in England, display at seeing an Ojiboway Indian. Even the oldest people took a childish pleasure in examining our clothes, and delighted in listening to the ticking of our watches. In all their familiarity there was, however, a look about them which indicated distrust: whilst on a nearer view their eyes seemed anxious. They evidently could not divest themselves of the idea of our being barbarians, and always appeared as if expecting some sudden outburst of ferocity upon our parts. Towards the latter end of our stay amongst them they had acquired greater confidence in us, but up to the last evinced a great dislike to our entering their houses. Near all their villages they had watchmen posted upon some neighbouring hill from which all approaches were visible, whose duty it was to announce when any of us drew near. They invariably drove away their sheep and cattle upon such occasions; for although we paid them well for everything with which they supplied us, still they evidently seemed to think that the sight of a large number of animals together would have been too strong a temptation for us to resist. There are very fair roads leading inland from many of the villages near the coast, which, during dry weather, would be practicable everywhere for guns. Wheeled conveyance is not very extensively used by the people, but there were some carts in every village. They resemble the Turkish araba very much in appearance, but are more substantial in their construction. The wheels are unprovided with iron tires, but their outer edges are thickly studded with large nails having

broad heads. The chief means of transport is on mules, which are very fine indeed, but not in any very large numbers. A common method of carrying produce or bales of dry goods, is by means of two poles fastened upon two mules or donkeys, like the shafts of a cart, the animals being in tandem, as it were, and sufficiently far apart to permit the goods being fastened to the poles between the leader and the mule behind. Men sometimes make long journeys thus, a chair being fastened to the poles in a similar manner.

As a place for the organisation of an army, previous to active operations anywhere upon the shores of Pechili, Che-foo is preferable to Talienwan, being situated in a far more productive part of the empire: the province of Shan-tung being famous for its mules and cattle.

During our stay at Talienwan the allied Commanders-in-Chief had several conferences, and complimentary visits were made by the ambassadors, Lord Elgin having arrived at our rendezvous upon the 9th of July. The French navy, having made a careful reconnaissance of the coast near Chi-kiang-ho, on which they had previously fixed as their point of disembarkation, found, they said, that there was not sufficient water for their vessels, and that consequently they must land at Peh-tang with us. This was naturally a great disappointment to us all, and, I suppose, to our allies also.

After several meetings, it was at last finally settled that both forces were to start from their respective stations upon the 26th July, by which time our allies promised to be ready. The two armies were to meet

at a point to be indicated by one of our men-of-war, twenty miles south of the Peiho.

Upon Saturday, the 21st July, our transport animals were embarked, and the various corps put their heavy baggage on board ship. Upon Monday, the 23rd, all the cavalry and artillery were embarked, with the exception of Fane's Horse, which went on board the following morning, when also the remainder of the army did likewise. On the 25th July the ships were employed in getting into the positions assigned for them; and on the 26th, all weighed anchor and started with a fair wind for the general rendezvous off the Peiho.

We left behind at our depôt at Odin Bay, four companies of the 99th Regiment, 417 of the 19th Punjaub Infantry, and 100 of the Royal Artillery, besides 200 sick and weakly Europeans, and 100 sick native soldiers. Before leaving, we had provided for the accommodation of 440 sick Europeans, and 500 sick natives, with stores of medicines, medical comforts, &c. &c. for that number. During our stay at Talienwan, we had lost by deaths, 2 officers (one by drowning), 28 Europeans and 6 native soldiers, the largest proportion having been in the 1st Royals, the effects of service at Hong-kong telling upon the men.

Our coolie corps had proved itself of great use already, working most cheerfully and well; eighty, however, deserted one night, of whom we heard nothing, until, a few days subsequently, six of the party returned in a most pitiable condition, having, according to their story, been beaten and ill-treated by the inhabitants; some of the party had been

beheaded, and all of them imprisoned. The six men had only escaped with great difficulty. Although we lost men by this circumstance, it was of great ultimate benefit, as it showed all the others what they might expect from their northern countrymen if they left us, and made them consequently all the more anxious for our success.

I do not remember having ever witnessed a grander sight than our fleet presented when steering for the Peiho. All ships were under full sail, the breeze being just powerful enough to send them along at about five knots an hour, and yet not more than ripple the sea's surface, which shone with all the golden hues of a brilliant sunshine. The ships were in long lines, one vessel behind the other, with a man-of-war leading each line,—Admiral Jones's ship, the Imperatrice, keeping on the right flank, and superintending the whole arrangements. The Imperatrice, under topsails only, kept pace easily with the transport fleet, although every vessel of it was crowded with canvas. H. M. S. Cambrian, under Captain Macleverty, led the van, and seemed to carry on a never-ending conversation with the others, one string of signals being no sooner hauled down than it was succeeded by another and another. Looking around upon that brilliant naval spectacle, I could scarcely realise the fact of being some 16,000 miles from England. It was a sight well calculated to impress every one with the greatness of our power, and to awake feelings of pride in the breast of the most stony-hearted Briton. The magnitude of our naval resources was brought forcibly home to the mind of every one who saw such a vast fleet collected in the

Gulf of Pechili, without in any way interfering with our commerce elsewhere.

No collection of men-of-war in one spot could impress foreigners with the fact of our power and greatness afloat, nearly so much as that immense display of our mercantile marine in such an out-of-the-way place. Fleets of war exhibit the metal wrought up and finished for immediate use, but in our vast merchant service we have the inexhaustible mine from whence the ore is drawn. Other nations may have the former upon the breaking out of hostilities, but after a couple of years' war, and the losses consequent thereon, from whence can they recruit? Sailors cannot be made in one voyage; and until other nations can compete with us in their mercantile marine, we may rest assured of having ever our existing preponderance at sea.

Towards evening the French fleet of thirty-three vessels, counting gunboats, &c., came in sight, passing round the Meatow Islands: they were all under steam. As night drew near the wind died away, but freshened again towards morning. The next day we dropped anchor at the appointed rendezvous, which H. M. S. Cruiser indicated, having arrived the day before for that purpose. By the 28th July, all the fleet had arrived. We were anchored in nine fathoms of water, no land being in sight: the 29th being Sunday, nothing was done. Our gunboats, towing a number of Chinese junks with ten days' provisions for the whole army on board, arrived in the evening. As these junks drew only a few feet of water, it was intended that they should accompany the landing force to the shore, so

as to be at hand with supplies. On Monday the whole fleet weighed and bore in for shore, anchoring about nine miles from it. The coast-line was then just visible from the mast-heads. A Russian frigate and three gun-boats were riding close to us.

CHAP. IV.

LANDING OF THE ALLIED ARMIES AT PEH-TANG. — DESCRIPTION OF THAT TOWN AND ITS VICINITY. — RECONNAISSANCE OF THE CHINESE POSITION. — ADVANCE OF THE ARMIES AND BATTLE OF SINHO. — CAPTURE OF THE ENTRENCHMENTS AROUND TANG-KOO. — REMARKS UPON OUR LAND TRANSPORT SERVICE.

On Monday evening the orders were issued, and the necessary arrangements made, for landing the following morning; but, unfortunately, it grew so rough during the night that we were obliged to postpone the operation until the following day, which turned out fine, although at first it looked most unpromising. The tide was full at 4 P.M., when there were about thirteen or fourteen feet of water over the bar which lies across the mouth of the Peh-tang-ho, but as our gunboats drew only six feet, they were able to cross at one o'clock.

The 2nd brigade of the 1st division, with a rocket battery and one of 9-pounders, formed the landing party, and were towed in troop-boats by the small gun-vessels, each troop-boat containing fifty men.

As we approached the mouth of the river we obtained a good view of the town and forts, situated on both banks. The main portion of the town was built on the right, or southern side, where the principal fort was pierced with thirteen embrasures; the fort on the

left bank had eleven embrasures, and presented a similar appearance to the other, while both exactly resembled those at the Peiho, in construction and general outline, being high-raised cavaliers of mud, connected, by low castellated walls of the same substance, with ditches in front of them. These forts were built at the extremity of the sound ground, all to the south of them being deep sticky mud, so that to land in their front, under an unsubdued fire, and then storm them, would be altogether impossible. When we came within about a mile of these river defences, each gunboat dropped anchor quite close to the mud-bank, which ran out from the southern fort in a south-easterly direction. The tide was still flowing when we arrived, so that we had to wait for a short time until it commenced to ebb, and this afforded us ample space for a careful survey on all sides. The town appeared packed with well-built houses, and, according to the best information we could obtain upon the subject, contained about 30,000 inhabitants. Most of the houses, like those at Talienwan, had mud roofs, coated over with chopped straw, which we afterwards found was placed upon a closely-arranged layer of fascines, made of strong reeds. This plan of mixing straw with mud for the facing of all walls, roofs, buildings, and works exposed to the weather, universally prevails throughout this part of China, and answers admirably, so much so, that in all batteries and entrenchments there one may see great, thick embankments, standing firmly at the most insignificant slopes. Until this surface-coating has in some way been broken through, rain does not seem to make any impression upon it. Several of the houses belonging

to the richer people were tiled. This was a strange site for a town ; no tree, bush, or even blade of grass was to be seen in any direction ; nothing, in short, but mud, which was visible everywhere. The people evidently exist by the trade, brought in junks from the south and landed here, prior to inland transit by the river boats. Behind the town a wooden gate and bridge led to a causeway, which seemed to stretch towards the Peiho. At the bridge there was a party of cavalry, numbering about two hundred and resembling Cossacks. Numbers of carts, ponies, bullocks, and people, were pressing out of the place along the causeway. At half-past four o'clock, two hundred English, and an equal number of French, put off in boats ; but it was discovered that they could only get to within about a hundred yards of the bank, so the English returned and waited for half an hour, when they landed, or rather got out into the water, then up to their knees, which continued so for the first half-mile. The land then began to show itself, and after struggling through deep, sticky mud for four or five hundred yards, we came to a fine hard surface of mud, covered here and there with patches of rank weeds.

By six o'clock a brigade was landed, and towards evening we had pushed on in the direction of the causeway, which I have before mentioned. Unfortunately, we had again to trudge through a muddy place of two hundred yards in width before we could reach it ; most of us passed the night on this muddy roadway, and all were very wet. A bivouac, of which we read such charming descriptions in "Charles O'Mal-

ley," and other books of the kind, is by no means unpleasant on a very fine moonlight night, when it is just sufficiently cool to enjoy sitting near a blazing wood fire, and yet not so cold as to render sleeping out, with only one's cloak for a covering and one's cap and sword for a pillow, in any way disagreeable. Such scenes, when enjoyed in the society of jovial comrades, talking of home, love, war, and hunting, frequently rise up like visions in after years, and are remembered by many as some of the happiest moments of life; no subsequently quaffed rum and water seems so grateful, no pipe of cavendish ever after appears so fragrant as that indulged in then. But, on the other hand, how very different indeed are those nights spent in the open air, when one has lain down thoroughly wet, cold and hungry, either without the means or materials for lighting a fire, or the permission to kindle one, owing to the proximity of the enemy. Let any non-military reader, then, picture to himself a heavy fall of rain setting in, and he can form a very fair idea of that which, time after time, the soldiers whom England sends out to fight her battles have to endure.

Our first night ashore was not, in some respects, as melancholy as that which I have depicted, but if we had no rain we had, indeed, a very damp bed, and water fit for drinking was not procurable. The sea flowed in on all sides, but not a single pool of fresh water or a well could be discovered. I never so much as then appreciated the full force of those lines —

> "Water, water, everywhere,
> Nor any drop to drink."

Every man landed with his water-bottle full, but what is a pint of water to a man after the harassing exertion of dragging himself, rifle, ammunition, &c., through deep mud for a mile, and who had previously been fed on salt provisions?

There are no circumstances in life under which a man's real disposition reveals itself more clearly than in such as these. The noble-hearted come to the front, at once ready to help others, and being themselves generous and jolly, make the best of most untoward events; whilst the selfish man stands out in his true colours, whining and pining like an ill-tempered child, a picture of misery himself, and not unlikely to make others so, by his captious ill-humour.

I had halted for the night on the hard ground which we came upon before reaching the causeway. There was a large party of people there, odds and ends of all sorts, including some who, in the dark, could not make their way any further to the front. All were horribly thirsty. To go back to the boats for water, through the slush, was really a fatiguing journey; but the task had to be accomplished, and never did the weary traveller in an arid desert hail a spring with greater joy than we all did our Judge Advocate-General's return with a small barrel of water, after his trip there. Subsequently the invaluable coolie corps made their appearance with breakers of a like nature, which supplied every one.

During the night a small party of the enemy's cavalry came close up to some of our pickets and were fired upon, causing an alert, which is always disagreeable to those requiring sleep.

Late in the evening Captain Williams, belonging to the Quartermaster-General's department, and Mr. Parkes, the Commissioner of Canton, made their way into the town, where they learnt from the inhabitants, that there was not any garrison in the place, so they proceeded to the fort and, with some difficulty, broke open the gate. They had a good look round the place, and then returned with the news. From what Mr. Parkes learnt from the people, it appeared that there had not been any regular garrison in Peh-tang for about a year, although it was frequently visited by patrols, one of which we had seen just before we landed, advancing either from the entrenched camps near Takoo or the strong fort of Ying-chung, which is about eleven miles up the Peh-tang river, where See-Singar commands. He is a Tartar and a protégé of Sang-ko-lin-sin's: he was defeated some time ago by the rebels, in an action near Nankin. The people of Peh-tang had lately suffered very much from his exactions, and consequently told us they would be glad to see him well beaten by us. Indeed, they seemed to hate all the Tartar troops, whom they described as "a horrible race, speaking an unknown tongue, feeding chiefly upon uncooked mutton;" and, as the Chinaman said, in a stage whsiper meant only to be heard by some other Chinamen standing by, "stinking more than you (the English) do;" highly complimentary to our national feelings, particularly as John Bull is prone to think himself the cleanest of mankind, but I suppose it may be that we have some peculiar odour about us.

I once heard an officer say, during a campaign, when few of us had had any change of clothes for a long

time, and when we had been obliged to lie out night after night without any tents, that, when it was too dark to see his men's faces, "he could recognise each individually by his smell." If, under these circumstances, recognition can be extended to individuals, I have little doubt that in all ordinary times there may be a national odour about us, easily discernible by the Chinese. Take, as an instance, the Russian soldiers, who are easily known by that smell of leather which always hangs around their persons and barracks.

The Peh-tang people were most obliging, and seemingly gave every information in their power. According to their account, the entire Tartar force between them and Tien-tsin did not exceed 25,000 men, and it was with difficulty that Sang-ko-lin-sin managed to pay even that number.

The good guns had been removed the year before to the Takoo forts, those then on the Peh-tang ramparts being of wood bound round with iron and cowhide. During the night a party of our allies made their way into the town and fort, where they pulled down all the flags, took one of the wooden guns, and, bringing it out to us, exhibited it as a trophy they had gained, not knowing that our party had been in there some time before.

The Admiral, having had no opportunity of discovering that the works were deserted, as we had no means of communicating with him, steamed up the river past the forts at midnight, intending, if necessary, to open fire the following morning. At daybreak, the allied commanders entered the town to arrange about

quartering the troops there, which was soon afterwards done, the place having a main street dividing it into two tolerably equal parts. The English head-quarters were placed in the fort under canvas, General Montauban having his in a large-sized house in the town. The troops were immediately moved into their new quarters, and, as might be expected from men scattered in small parties through deserted houses, our men ransacked them with that curiosity for which human nature is celebrated. However, not a single complaint was lodged against them for cruelty to the inhabitants, and those who were found plundering were tied up at once and flogged on the spot. The Sikh soldiers of course were with some difficulty restrained in their looting propensities, but even these were brought to their senses in a short time.

For several days the continual squeaking of expiring pigs was heard from early morning until late at night; and parties of Frenchmen, armed with pickaxes, shovels, bill-hooks, or bludgeons, were to be seen in every direction, hunting those filthy animals; indeed, as far as I could learn, the whole French army lived upon this pork for a week after they landed, the small supply of cocks and hens having rapidly disappeared.

For some time after our entry into Peh-tang, the French soldiers were to be seen roving about dressed in all the varieties of Chinese costume, whilst some, having unceremoniously appropriated the silks and satins of the ladies, sat at the doorsteps fanning themselves with all the affected graces of the fair sex.

Before we left, almost all the original inhabitants had fled, a few only having remained to guard the

interests of their community, if they could be said to have had any in the place then. Our men were always kept busy: fatigue parties could be seen everywhere employed, either at repairing the roads, making wharves, carrying water, or landing stores, whilst the French strolled about, even through our camp, with their hands in their pockets, gaping at our working parties, or looking in wonder at our huge dragoons, as they and their horses landed, until their energies were roused by the appearance of some old sow coming round a corner, when pursuit was immediately commenced. One cause of this desultory foraging on the part of our allies was, that upon landing each man was supposed to have with him six days' provisions, which is more than any man can or will carry. If he should keep his biscuit it is the most that he will do, but no soldier will carry and take care of six days' salt meat. It grows bad and smells horribly after the first two or three days, when it is invariably thrown away. The Frenchman was thus obliged to go pig-hunting, or actually fishing, to keep himself alive, a system of supply which relieved their commissariat of much difficulty. Our men, on the other hand, landed with only three days' provisions, including the rations for the day on which they landed, and on the fourth, regular supplies of food and drink were issued to them. Considerable quantities of hay, with forage sufficient for the requirements of our force during its stay at Peh-tang, were found there; but water was our great difficulty. For the first two days that which was found in the houses was ample, and in quality was not bad, but afterwards, our water-boats had to be sent up the

river every tide, for about the distance of four miles, where they filled at low tide, and then brought the water down to Peh-tang, where it was pumped out into jars collected into one place; under the superintendence of an officer water to the amount of a gallon a day for each man was then drawn as a regular ration.

The busy scene on the quay was as remarkable as any ever presented at Balaclava in its most crowded times, and unfortunately, we had upon several occasions nearly as much mud. The ordinary drainage of the town got choked up by rubbish being thrown into the cesspools and sewers, so that when heavy rain fell, there was no possibility of its running off, and notwithstanding the exertions of every one, and the continual hard work of our engineers, mud and water prevailed everywhere, rendering it quite a matter of difficulty to get along through the streets, the main one, which was the line of demarcation between the two armies, being much the worst.

However, before we left, we had so improved the principal thoroughfares, by putting down layers of brick, that guns passed over them with tolerable ease. The work on the quay was carried on most rapidly; wooden piers and wharves soon sprang up under the joint superintendence of the navy and engineers. From daylight in the morning until dark, and sometimes even during the night, these landing-places were used; gunboat after gunboat discharged its living cargo at them; men, horses, mules, bullocks and donkeys, came streaming ashore, our naval officers working with that energy and zeal for which they are famous. Our gunboats, of which we have heard so much recently as to their

rotten state, proved most invaluable; both officers and men belonging to them had hard work, indeed; and to those who are as unskilled as I am in their routine, they seemed to go without any rest, their vessels being ever on the move, steaming and puffing away with that short, quick, sneezing noise peculiar to them. The more we saw of such an expedition, the more thoroughly one appreciated the difficulties which our forefathers had to contend with in similar instances; when, unaided by steam, weeks, or more probably months, must have passed away, ere they accomplished what we did in a few days.

The French had only three or four gunboats, and those drawing a great deal of water; they consequently took a considerable time to land even their small force, without any cavalry. Latterly we lent them a couple of gunboats; and a couple more of their little craft, that I have already mentioned as having been forwarded from France in pieces, having arrived, with the aid of junks, as troop and storeboats, they managed to land all their men and material. Our coolie corps, numbering about 2500, was of the greatest service. I never saw men work more assiduously or willingly, struggling, as they had to do, through deep mud, carrying heavy loads, and yet laughing and chaffing each other all the while. They saved our men much fatigue, that otherwise must have devolved upon them; a single coolie was actually of more general value than than any three baggage animals; they were easily fed, and when properly treated, most manageable. Major Temple, who organised, and afterwards commanded them, deserves every credit for the effi-

cient manner in which he performed his work, which was no sinecure, called upon, as he was at all hours, by every description of department, naval and military, for men to carry baggage, &c., each one grumbling that he had no means of transporting his traps, or the stores of which he was in charge. From the 1st to the 11th of August these men worked hard, landing stores, carrying water, and performing many other duties, all more or less laborious, and yet, when we moved out on the 12th, they appeared as fresh and jolly as usual, bearing their loads cheerfully.

On the 3rd of August, a reconnaissance under the command of General Collineau, consisting of a thousand French and as many English, moved out along the raised causeway leading towards the Takoo forts. When these had proceeded about four miles, large bodies of cavalry showed themselves all round their front and flanks; the French had two little rifled mountain guns, with which they opened fire, but apparently without doing any damage, the enemy's cavalry being scattered about in skirmishing order, and no body being formed up anywhere. An entrenchment about a mile from this reconnoitring party kept up an annoying fire of jingalls, which wounded a few men. Brigadier Sutton, who was in command of our men, sent back to General Grant telling him of the position of the party, which induced him to send out a regiment of infantry and a couple of guns to support them, should they be pressed when returning. They were not, however, required, as the enemy allowed us to return without any further annoyance, than firing a few very long shots down the causeway as we moved

off. As heavy rain had fallen during the preceding night, the raised causeway was very deep and slippery in some places, rendering it difficult for guns to move along it. A deep ditch runs along each side for about three miles, and the country around, if we except a few acres here and there of firm ground, was mostly marshy, and partly covered with patches of rank grass. All over the vast plains which lie around Peh-tang inland, as far as the eye can reach, are hundreds of tombs, consisting of conically-shaped mounds of earth, which near the Peiho have their tops rounded off, and a ball of earthenware or mud fastened there. It is curious to see their arrangement in clusters, wherever a spot of ground is to be found free from the inundations of the sea. The Chinese here seem to bury by families, and all the mounds within each little enclosure, as far as we could judge, have some proportional affinity in size to either the antiquity of the grave, the deceased's age at time of death, or else to the relative position he had occupied when alive. In each group of these mud monuments there were always one or two large ones, the rest generally diminishing in bulk, the further they were removed from them. The dead are buried in coffins, which are laid in the earth with their lids on a level with the natural surface of the ground, and the mound of earth is afterwards piled upon the coffin. Pools of fresh water were to be found everywhere, as the country is such a dead level that there is no drainage to carry off the rain.

On the 9th another reconnoitring party was sent out, under the command of an officer of the Quartermaster-General's department, consisting of 200 cavalry

and 100 infantry, — the latter marched along the causeway for a couple of miles and took up a position in a ruined farmhouse, usually held by the enemy with a cavalry picket. These infantry thus protected the exposed flank of the cavalry, who moved off, leaving the causeway to their left, and made a long circuit until they approached within the distance of, the enemy's works from the Peiho, and keeping about a mile to their left flank. This party returned without firing a shot or having one fired at them, having meanwhile ascertained that the country in that direction was practicable for all arms, and abounding in pools of fresh water. At several points there evidently had been cavalry camps; and these pools had been dug, either to supply them with water, or else with a view to furnish earth for the immense number of graves which were sprinkled about everywhere. This latter speculation seems the most probable solution.

The unfavourable state of the weather, and the backwardness of the French arrangements, owing to their want of gunboats for landing stores, &c., prevented any move being made until Sunday the 12th August. The 10th was rainy, and on the 11th we had some slight showers, so that throughout the force the odds were against our moving as intended on the 12th, but when day broke on that date, although the weather was looking threatening, and the clouds hung about in dark masses, yet the rain did not come down. So the exodus from Peh-tang, and all its detestable odours, began. It was arranged that the 2nd division, under General Napier, should move out along the track reconnoitred by the

cavalry on the 9th, and turn the left of the enemy's position, whilst the 1st division and French advancing along the causeway towards the enemy's front should take their works. All the cavalry were to accompany the 2nd division, the ground to our right being admirably adapted for that arm. The 2nd division and cavalry commenced filing across the only bridge which led to the only road leading out of Peh-tang, at four A.M., but as a considerable quantity of rain had fallen between the 9th and 12th instant, the ground immediately to the right of the road and close to it was very deep. Indeed, notwithstanding all the exertions of the engineers to make a road over it, it was in some places so slushy, that it was only by dint of flogging the horses, and all the gunners working at the wheels, that the difficult task of pulling the artillery over to the higher and better ground could be accomplished. Three ammunition waggons stuck immoveably, and these we had to leave, taking on the limbers only. Never was there a more convincing denial of the statements lately made in a military newspaper, and unblushingly repeated over and over again by the editor, to the effect that the carriages of these Armstrong guns were made of rotten wood, and that the whole fabric of the woodwork was unsound. None but the very best constructed carriages, and made of the soundest wood, could have stood the pulling, dragging, and immense strain on all parts that these then did. This story, like many other wonderful ones that go the rounds of our home newspapers, and are believed by the reading public, was simply untrue, without, as far as one could learn, an atom of foundation for its origin. Owing to

these waggons sticking in the mud, and the slow progress made by all our troops, and particularly the heavy cavalry, over the deep ground leading from the causeway, the 1st division could not commence filing over the bridge until a quarter past seven o'clock; the French being somewhat late in forming up, the whole force had not crossed until some minutes past ten, the main body of the French being even then in the town.

When the 2nd division had advanced about three miles from the causeway, line of battle was formed, with the cavalry, in *échelon*, on the right, covering our flank in that direction. Our guns soon opened upon the Tartar cavalry, who, having formed several irregular lines of skirmishers, advanced very steadily towards our troops. The practice of the Armstrong guns was perfect, the precision was as accurate as that of a good rifle; yet, though every shell burst amongst them, as is always the case when men are scattered and on the move, but few of the men or horses were knocked over. I have seen this occur again and again when fighting against undrilled troops, who naturally fight in what a soldier would term an "anyhow sort of manner," so that even canister, when fired into lines of skirmishers within three hundred yards' distance, has not killed a man for several discharges. Previously to this, I never saw men fighting in this irregular way come on so pluckily under such a heavy fire as these Tartars did on this occasion; and, although they suffered but little loss, still the artillery fire brought to bear upon them was so heavy and well directed, that many of what we call regular troops would have fled

before it. My little experience goes to prove that it is not the actual loss at the time from a fire brought to bear upon troops which first shakes them, but the multitude of shot and shell whizzing past their ears or falling about them, which first makes them "bob," then confuses, and ends by disorganising them. For a line of troops to advance unsupported in any way by artillery, or, as in this instance, by only a few straggling, ill-directed shots from jingalls and matchlocks, against a formidable fire, such as ours was, from fifteen guns, showed an amount of natural daring which was most praiseworthy. They came on in scattered parties until close to our cavalry, when, with a loud, wild yell, they charged in the straggling manner of undrilled brave men. Our irregulars met the foremost of them hand to hand, when, of course, the issue was such as might be anticipated from a conflict between an ill-armed mob and a tolerably well-drilled body of Sikh cavalry, led by such men as Major Probyn and Lieutenant Fane. In less than a minute the Tartars had turned, and were flying for their lives before our well-armed irregulars, supported by two squadrons of the finest dragoons in the British army; the pursuit lasted for five miles, and was then only ended by our horses being pumped out. The Tartars being mounted on hardy ponies, in the best of working condition, managed easily to keep well ahead of our horses, who had not galloped for months, and who had been landed only a few days previously from the vessels, where, with the exception of the few weeks they had been ashore at Talienwan Bay, they had been cooped up for a long period. Had our horses been in as

good wind and working order as they usually are in India, the results would have been far more satisfactory, and the worthy taxpayers at home would have had the pleasure of gloating over the account of an immense list of slain enemies.

Whilst the 2nd division was engaged in the way I have mentioned above, the 1st had moved steadily along the main causeway leading from Peh-tang towards the enemy's entrenched camps lying in front of the village of Sinho. Upon coming within about 1400 yards of these works, the ground became on each side of the road sufficiently firm to move over; so our infantry deployed to the right, the French, with a small number of sailors and marines, doing the same to the left. The guns of both nations opened fire upon the enemy's entrenchments, at a range of about 1000 yards. I was with the 2nd division, and from it had a side view of the whole attack, and consequently had a more favourable opportunity of seeing everything than those immediately in front of the works. The enemy stood well for a few minutes behind their mud walls, and discharged their jingalls and matchlocks with rapidity, and, very fortunately for us, without any precision. A considerable number of cavalry were in and around their works, when our fire commenced, and it began to tell upon them at once. A move was immediately perceived among these horsemen, and the usual "tailing off" became apparent, first, by a few leisurely leaving, and then, after a few rounds more, by large numbers bolting as fast as their active little ponies could carry them, so that by the time our infantry had reached

the place, the only occupants were dead and dying horses and men. So beautifully precise had been the practice of the Armstrong guns that, in two instances, the men serving large jingalls had been knocked over, aim having been taken at these points. In theory, this may read as being very far from wonderful, but in practice, during an actual engagement, I can assure my readers it is by no means as common as most people imagine. At the range we were then firing at, the French rifled guns were most accurate, and showed well beside our Armstrong pieces, their precision being quite as good and their service as efficient.

Some French troops coming up, the whole army now advanced and passed through the village of Sinho, a small place consisting of two long streets, very narrow and slushy. It is surrounded by vegetable gardens hedged in by quantities of fine apricot and peach trees; there were also a great many pear trees covered with unripe fruit. Beyond the village were two Tartar cavalry camps, the near one having a small, square, unfinished redoubt on the further side of it. Running down the south side of Sinho there were two canals close to each other, the one nearest the village being navigable for junks of large size. When we arrived, there were several boats on it, two or three filled with the women and children who were flying from the place. As these canals are tidal, the boats come up at the flow and return at the ebb tide.

The armies halted at Sinho, the cavalry and 2nd division to the south-west of it, having a fine, large

open plain in their front, with their left resting on the canals; beyond this, to the south and east of the village, were the 1st division and French. About two and a half miles to the south-east, the large entrenchments around the village of Tang-koo were visible, having a long, narrow causeway with ditches on each side, leading from our position to it. The country to the north of this causeway was very swampy and quite impassable for all arms, but to the south of it, the ground, although marshy in some spots, appeared sufficiently hard for guns to move over it.

General Montauban was very anxious to advance at once to assault that position, but Sir Hope Grant was desirous of postponing the operation until he had thrown bridges across the canals which separated the roadway and village from the open firm ground to the south of the causeway. Without the bridges, an advance upon Tang-koo could only be effected along the narrow road, which was completely commanded by the enemy's guns. The English Commander-in-Chief evidently considered such an attempt unwise, so he permitted the French general, who appeared to regard the operation an easy one, to advance alone, keeping, however, a couple of battalions under arms near the causeway to be at hand if required. The guns and infantry of our allies filed down towards Tang-koo along the causeway until they had approached within the range of their own rifled guns of that place, when their artillery unlimbered and opened fire. The enemy replied gun for gun; but, the range being too great for their pieces, their practice was wild. After a

couple of hours thus spent at long bowls, General Montauban seemed convinced of his mistake, and accordingly withdrew his guns and men.

Upon the following day bridges were thrown across the several canals, and roadways made over the marshy places which we should have to pass when attacking Tang-koo. A reconnaissance was effected up the banks of the Peiho by some officers of the Quartermaster-General's department, who met with none of the enemy. This tended to show that all their cavalry had retired behind the river, and that none of their troops were on its northern bank, with the exception of those who were garrisoning the forts. During the night of the 13th a trench was thrown up by a working party under the superintendence of our engineers, its right resting almost on the Peiho and extending for some 200 yards along the face of the enemy's works at Tang-koo, and 480 yards from them. The next morning at daybreak all the troops were under arms; the 2nd division crossing over the Sinho canals, and remaining as a reserve on the open ground near the 1st division's camping-ground, whilst the latter division advanced towards the place, supporting our artillery, which commenced its march towards the entrenchments there. Our right flank thus rested on the Peiho, the southern bank of which was marshy and covered for some hundreds of yards by a thick line of high reeds, which not only screened us from view, but prevented any of the enemy's troops from showing themselves there. At one spot, however, there was a small hamlet on that bank, alongside of which two junks were anchored, or rather, owing to the

then state of the tide, were high and dry on the mud. From these junks and a small battery of mud placed behind them, an annoying, though at the same time, harmless fire was opened upon us as we advanced. Two Armstrong guns and two 9-pounders were unlimbered and soon silenced this fire, and a few sailors having come up from the fleet went across in a Chinese sampan (or boat), set fire to the junks and spiked the guns. From some tombs, about a mile lower down the river, a couple of guns then opened upon us, but as usual the shot was high and their practice wild. The French force had now come up and got into position on our left, their left flank resting upon the Tang-koo causeway. The whole line of artillery then advanced, the French having twelve and we twenty-four guns in line, all coming into action when about 900 yards from the works; the enemy replied from all their guns, fourteen in number, and kept up a sharp fire from jingalls at the same time. A line of our skirmishers, the 60th Rifles, then took up cover in the trenches we had made during the previous night, for the purpose of keeping down the enemy's fire; ere long their batteries were in a very shattered condition, shell after shell bursting in the embrasures and about the parapets. As the enemy's fire slackened our guns advanced to within a range of about 450 yards, when, after a few more rounds, the enemy's guns opposite our people were completely silenced, although a fire from jingalls and matchlocks was still maintained. A rocket fire was then opened upon us from the right bank, but without doing any damage. Our infantry had now come up quite close, and a party of the

60th Rifles, under Lieutenant Shaw, advanced to the extreme left flank of the entrenchment, which rested on the Peiho, where they managed to scramble across the ditch and afterwards to get behind the works. A Union Jack was planted immediately and our infantry commenced pouring in. The French were still hammering away with their guns; they had greater difficulties to overcome, as there were no means of getting into the place without first bridging the ditches. A few minutes afterwards the tricolour appeared over the gateway, and our troops advanced through the village of Tang-koo to the eastern side of the works.

Tang-koo is a small village situated on a bend of the Peiho. Round it there was a mud wall of about ten feet in height, and three and a half in width at the top, which was castellated with that up-and-down sort of work, such as one sees in ruins of old strongholds belonging to the middle ages, but which with our present weapons is more ornamental than useful.

There were five Tartar camps, all walled in and ditched round, within this outer enceinte and the space between it and the village. All round this line of mud walls ran a banquette; and along the side facing Sinho, as well as that facing the Takoo forts, were numerous barbettes for guns and jingalls. Those faces were about three quarters of a mile in length, the river front being of equal dimensions, but having no works of any sort running along it. The fourth, or northern face, was about 800 yards in length, and mounted no guns, not having even many places for doing so should necessity require it, since, for some three miles to its

own immediate front, the country was quite impracticable for all arms, being a succession of canals and impassable ditches connected with the great extent of salt-works which stretched away to the sea-shore.

Two deep ditches, fifty yards' distance from each other, ran round these three sides, the river being on the fourth; one of these ditches was close under the mud walls. The space within, between the line of works and the village, was much hollowed out in some places, from whence the earth had evidently been taken for the construction of the batteries, camps, &c. Several small drainage canals, for the purpose of carrying off the surface-water, ran in different directions, one being on each side of the roadway leading down from the principal gateway opposite Sinho to the village itself. There were three gateways, two facing the west, leading, one to Sinho, the other to the Peh-tang causeway, which it joined by a road, impracticable after heavy rain, at a place called "Chah-pung," *i. e.* "Tea-shop." The third was on the eastern face, having a roadway leading from it to where the bridge of boats stretched across to Tung-koo and Takoo opposite, there being also a track to the forts on the northern bank of the river. Both Commanders-in-Chief proceeded towards the forts, and made a partial reconnaissance of the intervening ground; but a disagreeable fire being opened upon their escort, all the men were withdrawn within the lately-captured entrenchments, which were then handed over to Major-General Sir R. Napier, who marched with his division into them, the 1st division returning to camp between Sinho and the Peiho. One battalion occupied the captured entrenchments on the

causeway leading to Peh-tang, and the road to that place was kept free from interruption by a strong detachment of cavalry posted at Chah-pung. The cavalry brigade were encamped to the west of Sinho, and with their pickets observed the wide open plain extending from thence towards the west. The French were encamped in and around the south side of Sinho. Such was the position we occupied, until our heavy guns and ammunition were brought to the front, and ten days' provisions collected at a depôt which we established at Sinho.

The weather was delightful; cool breezes and cloudy days, the evenings and nights being at a temperature sufficiently warm to render a bivouac pleasant. An extraordinary high tide occurred on the 16th August, which covered a considerable portion of the Peh-tang causeway near that place, completely swamping the Commander-in-Chief's camp, and also the tents belonging to the 1st division. The whole of the surrounding country is so little raised above the ordinary level of the sea, that the inhabitants of each village round have bestowed much labour in their endeavours to protect themselves against these inroads of the water, which frequently occur at spring tides, when the wind is blowing up the mouths of the Peh-tang and Peiho rivers.

During the time between the capture of Tang-koo and the storming of the northern forts on the 20th August, several flags of truce passed between us and the Chinese. The first, of course, came from the enemy, bearing letters from the Governor-General of Pechili, named Ho, to Lord Elgin and Baron Gros. The enemy

sent us back two prisoners who had been captured by the Tartar cavalry on the day of our advance from Peh-tang; one was a man of the 44th Regiment, and the other a Madras sapper. It appears that this English soldier, together with a man of the 3rd Buffs, both doing duty with the Chinese coolie corps, had loitered a long way in the rear of the 2nd division, during our advance on the 12th instant; they had a party with them, consisting of some seventeen or eighteen coolies engaged in carrying rum. The first intimation which we had of the circumstance was from one of these coolies who escaped that same night into Peh-tang; and his story, which seems to be the correct one, was to the effect that the two soldiers drank rum until they became so intoxicated that they could not move, when shortly afterwards they were all taken prisoners, with the exception of this coolie who escaped. The Madras sapper, overcome by hard work, and being unwell, had fallen out, and lain down to sleep on the spot where he was captured. The man belonging to the Buffs was either killed, or "died of drink," as the Chinese say. The soldier of the 44th, who was sent into us, either from the effects of bad treatment, or through a desire to screen his delinquencies, could not or would not give any connected account of his capture. His mind, indeed, seemed to be unbalanced, as in addition to the untruths he told, he talked utter nonsense about what he pretended he had overheard his captors say. His wrists bore traces of recent tying, and his hands were swollen from the tightness with which the cords had been fastened. He said he had been taken up before a Mandarin, who ordered him to "kow-tow,"

which he did, but that the other soldier refusing to do so, was beheaded. In a couple of days afterwards all the coolies were sent in under another flag of truce. They had been taken up to Tien-tsin, where they had had their tails cut off — a great degradation to Chinamen. One can understand our soldiers being returned to us, but why they should send back prisoners of their own nation seems strange. As a people they are most difficult to comprehend, and every day's residence in the country serves to prove, more and more, how thoroughly ignorant we are of their ideas and modes of reasoning. They seem to view everything in such a very peculiar light: as an instance of this, at some places they decapitate tens and hundreds daily for rebellion, and sometimes on the merest suspicion; whilst, in the above-mentioned case, when they had taken a number of their own people, actually assisting, as duly enlisted coolies, an army of foreigners in the field against them, they merely cut their tails off and sent them back with a complimentary letter.

One of our flags of truce was taken across the Peiho in a boat to Takoo, where Mr. Parkes, who accompanied it as an interpreter, had a long interview with Ho, the Governor-General. This party evidently took the people on the opposite side a little by surprise, but as speedily as possible they collected a number of soldiers together, to present as imposing an appearance as they could command. Most of these were Tartars, who were ill-clad, and wretchedly mounted and equipped, some having nothing but bows, others spears, and the rest, rusty-looking, old matchlocks.

Nearly every day there was an explosion or village

burning, in the direction of the enemy's position along the river bank and towards Takoo, which we afterwards learned was done by the mandarins in several places as a punishment inflicted on those people who were suspected of harbouring foreigners. From the top of the joss-house in Tang-koo, where Sir R. Napier had his head-quarters, large numbers of people were daily seen streaming out of Takoo along the Tien-tsin road, which did not bespeak much confidence existing amongst the population as to the ultimate success of their forces. The English and French engineers commenced a bridge of boats across the Peiho to the right, and close to the camp of the 1st division. For this purpose, large numbers of junks and smaller boats were collected at Tang-koo, and up the different little creeks which run into the river close at hand. Anchors were not numerous, but "make-shifts," constructed of wood, were shortly got together, formed something after the Indian pattern. The difficulty was to find any substitute for stone, which is a feature in these anchors, for this alluvial district does not produce even a pebble of any kind; however, the mill-stones found in the villages near, and our enemy's shot, supplied their place tolerably well. Half of this bridge was to be constructed by the French, and half by the English, which, though very far from being a satisfactory arrangement, was the only one we could arrive at under the circumstance. The two engineer officers, each respectively representing his army, "tossed up" to determine which side of the river they should take. The Frenchman won and took the left bank. Large quantities of rope and timber were collected at Peh-tang, and

sent up, together with some planking and superstructure which we had brought from Hong-kong. All our transport was busily engaged daily at these various duties, the artillery horses and waggons drawing up the heavy guns, shot, shell, &c. &c. Our coolie corps worked as usual, heartily and well.

It may not be inappropriate here to make some remarks upon our Military Train, a branch of our service which is of the highest importance to the efficiency of the army, but which is still far from being in a satisfactory condition. The battalion of Military Train, which was sent to India during the mutiny through the exigency of the occasion was converted into a regiment of cavalry, and in that capacity did good service; the men were very smart, and won the approbation of all. This circumstance, which did much credit to that battalion, seems to have had its attendant prejudicial effects, and some of the Military Train officers who went out to China in 1860, evidently expected that a similar career of glory would be opened to them. If our artillerymen were always longing to be used as cavalry, or our riflemen as light dragoons, is it to be supposed that those corps would long maintain their present reputation? The horses for the Military Train in China had been brought at a great expense from Bombay, and all the men were provided with regular cavalry trappings and arms. The absurdity of such a dragoon transport is apparent to every one who has ever campaigned anywhere out of India. Every one knows that a cavalry soldier on service has quite enough to do daily, in keeping his horse and accoutrements clean, without being obliged

to look after the tending and feeding of a number of wretched mules and ponies.

On the march, transport is ever falling into difficulties, and requires the constant care of all in charge of it, who should, when necessary, actually with their own hands assist in putting it to rights.

On the long, narrow causeway which runs between Peh-tang and Sinho, where, from daylight until dark, strings of baggage animals and waggons were passing and repassing, you might see these semi-dragoons lolling half asleep over their holster-pipes, although perhaps some accident had occurred which they appeared to have consigned to Providence or to the unassisted exertions of the ponies to remedy. As to dismounting for the purpose of assisting a Manilla driver or coolie, the idea did not seem to occur to them, as either desirable or necessary. After the day's work was ended, the animals were tied up by their native drivers, upon whose humanity it then very much depended whether they were fed and watered. The mounted Military Train man had quite enough to do in cleaning and burnishing all the wonderful complication of straps and buckles that form such a prominent part of a dragoon's equipment. Of what use can such arms and appointments be to a man whose sole business ought to consist in a careful supervision of the transport animals, carts, and drivers, and when on the march assisting those who broke down? From the nature of instruction received when first enlisted, he should be competent not only to teach others how to repack the fallen loads, but to do so with his own hands, if necessary.

The packing of baggage animals, loading of carts,

partial repair of broken down waggons (in all of which the Military Train should be as expert as an African traveller), apparently formed no part of the instruction and drill of these men, or if so, they seemed to have forgotten it, and put it down in much the same category that all soldiers do the goose-step, which is known to be necessary upon first joining, although forming no part of the drill to be especially remembered on active service. With these it would appear that that portion of their drill which is similar to what is used by our cavalry, should alone be remembered or used in the field. It is a mistake to drill a man as a soldier who will never be called upon to perform a soldier's functions. If this is not the case, why do we not drill as fighting men the Commissariat Staff Corps, consisting of butchers, bakers, and clerks, or the Medical Staff, who are merely intended as hospital attendants, &c.? It may, indeed, be proper that these corps should learn the obedience and discipline of a soldier, should be able to fall into ranks, to march to church, and to load a musket; but it is not required for a Land Transport Corps that they should spend all their time in cavalry drill.

The Military Train should consist of men drilled to ride well, and also instructed in the management and care of horses, mules, and bullocks, the loading and unloading of carts, and in the repair of such accidents as are likely to occur to waggons on the road. They should be armed with a sword-bayonet, not made for aggressive purposes, but for cutting or chopping wood, ropes, &c., and also for mounting sentry at their own guard.

When campaigning in countries where it might be advisable to have native drivers, the Military Train soldiers should be mounted upon good serviceable ponies, with light saddles. So many men and officers should be told off to a certain number of carts or pack animals. Each man could thus exercise a supervision over several carts, &c., and see that the native drivers did their work properly. All should be ready at any moment to dismount and help those in difficulties. There should be a larger proportion of non-commissioned officers in this corps than others, and as their duties on active service must always be onerous, and have more or less responsibility attached to them, it might be well to pay them somewhat better than the soldiers of the line.

The system of officering this corps at present is not good. In it are many most meritorious men from the ranks, together with some young monied officers, who have joined it with a view to purchasing promotion over those who cannot do so. When they have obtained the coveted rank, they forthwith leave a corps which they had only endured for a short time in order to procure easily and rapidly what they must otherwise have had to work and wait for long enough.

There is also in it a large proportion of married gentlemen with families, to whom foreign service in the infantry is inconvenient, and home service in the cavalry is too expensive. To such men the Military Train is a harbour of refuge. The work is light; they have horses kept for them; in fact, it is the happy medium between the cavalry and infantry, embracing

all that is desirable for a family man in both, without any of the disagreeableness of either.

I do not wish to detract from the zeal and ability of those good soldiers who rise from the ranks of our army—I know many of them intimately, and, moreover, respect them as much as any man can, but I am thoroughly convinced that too much of such an element in any regiment must ever be most prejudicial to it, and none will more readily agree with me on this point than these men themselves. A few men from the ranks interspersed amongst a number of British gentlemen, gradually acquire the tone and habits of those with whom they associate, and eventually may become, in ideas and bearing, and, what is far more important, in the power of influencing and disciplining their subordinates, as good as any officers in the corps. It is otherwise if a large number of these men are thrown together without a sufficient portion of that leavening influence to which I have already alluded. Under the present system, a corps like the Land Transport will seldom get good officers into it, or such as mean to remain, especially since commissions are as easily obtained as now in the other branches of the army. No man really fond of the military profession will, in these days, enter a non-combatant corps. Increased pay may induce some who are fathers of families to enter it, but although such men may do well enough for Aldershot, they are not generally the stamp we require for active service. Their wives are invariably either in an interesting condition, or have just been confined, and are dangerously ill; their eldest girl has the measles, or the heir the small-pox, and so on. Some

such highly interesting family event is perpetually occurring, and affecting papa's equanimity, so he pines to get home, and, brooding over his misfortunes, he either really does become ill, or succeeds in talking the doctor into the belief in some imaginary ailment, when he is invalided home, where he remains until the hard work in the field is over.

The efficiency of a corps can be brought to perfection only by the officers taking a pride and interest in their work. I cannot see any chance of our having an efficient transport service in our army until it is made a civil branch, resembling, more or less, the general constitution of the medical and commissariat departments, *i. e.*, giving its officers no military authority except over their own men. I would not call them captains, majors, and colonels as now; they should have the same, or somewhat similar titles, as our commissariat officers, of which department I would make the transport service a branch, such being by far the most natural arrangement, and one which would simplify matters; those who were responsible for supplies should then have to carry them also. Our commissariat improves every day, and on the whole, does much credit to those belonging to it. At first starting upon this footing, it might be desirable to make the commandant and adjutants military men, and this could be continued permanently if found to work well; but I should at once take from the corps all men who are seeking military promotion. Until this is done, the officers of the Military Train will never make good ones for the work required in their present capacity; and, moreover, their duties, whether attended to

or neglected, will, in a great measure, unfit them for those which will subsequently devolve upon them, when they effect that exchange into a combatant corps, which a large proportion of them eventually contemplate.

The above remarks will be of little interest to the general reader; but to all who study the welfare of our army, a question of such vital importance as the efficiency of our transport corps, will, I am sure, be interesting. I shall not, therefore, offer any apology for the prolixity of my remarks on this head.

CHAP. V.

ACCOUNT OF PAPERS FOUND AT SINHO.—PLANS FOR ASSAULT OF THE TAKOO FORTS.—REMARKS UPON THEM.—STORMING AND CAPTURE OF THE NORTHERN FORTS.—DESCRIPTION OF THEM, AND THEIR POSITION.—MARCH FROM TAKOO TO TIEN-TSIN.—DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY PASSED THROUGH: OF TIEN-TSIN AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

SOME very interesting papers were found in the Mandarin's house at Sinho, containing the correspondence between Sang-ko-lin-sin and the Great Council of State, relative to our probable line of conduct, should we actually land in the neighbourhood of Takoo with hostile intentions. One of these documents was an exposition of Sang-ko-lin-sin's views of the matter. In it he commenced by commenting upon the English parliamentary debates which had lately taken place upon the Chinese question. Of most of these he had evidently received translations. Referring to our having talked so much and so publicly of our proposed operations in China, he says, the very fact of our having done so was a clear proof that we never intended to carry them into execution, adding that, "those who make war, keep silent regarding their proposed movements; everything is talked over and done in secret, the drums are muffled and no flags are shown." In short, he gives us credit for making war in a more systematic and a wiser manner than we English are ever able to do, owing to

the extravagant freedom allowed to our press upon all subjects. He then goes on to remark, that, as regards the proposition made by a very wise British senator, that our fleet should proceed up the Yang-tse-kiang, and that Nankin should be occupied by our troops, for the purpose of cutting off the supplies of grain, supposed by that intelligent English gentleman to be continually flowing up from thence by the Grand Canal to Pekin, — "Why, as you know, that canal has been rendered useless since 1852. Should the barbarians persist in their avowed intention of invasion, they will, most likely, land at Peh-tang; to do so is very difficult, but as we cannot defend that place, they may succeed in doing so. There is only one egress from thence, to the east of which are large impassable salt-works; and should they present themselves in the open country, my numerous Tartar cavalry is so disposed that they must be annihilated. Should they, however, pass them, there is still the Takoo position, opposite the forts of which they were before so signally defeated, and which are now stronger than ever." He estimated the entire strength of the allied forces at 30,000 men, and, strange to say, follows up the current events just as they occurred, the only difference being, that, instead of being annihilated, we chased from the field those who were detailed by him to carry out that highly unsatisfactory termination to our existence. A few days before the attack on the northern forts of Takoo, the French commandant of engineers with a few men crossed the Peiho at the point where it had been determined that we should throw our bridge across. He proceeded cautiously along the right bank, until at

length he got under a fire from small guns, jingalls, and musketry, before which he had to retire, but as the affair seemed to be becoming serious, General Montauban marched down most of his forces to support this small party, and, having sent across a couple of thousand men, made good his position amongst the gardens which surrounded the village. Within about a thousand yards of this point there was a small Tartar entrenchment, from whence the enemy retreated as our allies advanced. Beyond it, the road was so cut up in several places, that, until bridges were thrown across, nothing else could be done; and, in fact, until the boat bridge for the Peiho was ready, the position of our allies on its right bank, was, in every respect, a false one.

Sir Hope Grant objected to the line of action on that bank of the river, and from our post at Tang-koo we could see so much of the enemy's position on both sides of the Peiho, as to enable us to form a correct estimate of the relative bearings of each fort with the others. It certainly seemed, even to the most inexperienced in war, a dangerous proceeding to leave the north forts untouched, whilst we operated by the right bank towards the defences on the south side. The forts there were evidently much the strongest, and their fire could not be brought to bear upon us whilst engaged in attacking the northern forts, with the exception of the small detached fort furthest up the river on that side, commanding the space between the two northern forts.

From Tang-koo to the nearest fort on the left bank, was somewhat under two miles, and the reconnaissance made by Captain Lumsden of the Quartermaster-General's department proved, that by a little labour a good

and safe road could be made to it, by making a detour so as to keep away from the river as much as possible, and thus avoid any cross fire from the southern banks that the enemy might bring to bear upon us. With this detached fort in our possession, we should be able to look into the similar one on the south bank, enfilade the whole length of the great southern one, and take all the sea defences of the large northern fort in reverse. It was doubtless the key of the whole position, and as such the English Commander-in-Chief considered it the true point of attack. Sir Robert Napier, one of the cleverest engineer officers in our service, was also of this opinion, and from his head-quarters being in Tang-koo, he had opportunities for several days of studying well the nature of the ground and position. Our allies, however, thought quite differently, and their plans, they said, in favour of the advance being made upon the south side, were so evidently in accordance with the rules and science of war, that to attack the northern forts could lead to no satisfactory result. They had never previously spoken out so freely upon any subject, as they then did upon this point; and even those who before were most guarded in their remarks upon our movements, gave free vent then to their opinion. Their arguments were based upon grounds which, no doubt, would have had great weight had we an army of 100,000 men; but with such a small force as ours, the breaking of it into two parts, which must necessarily have taken place, in order to keep up communication with Peh-tang and our fleet, the real basis of all our operations, and from whence our provisions and ammunition were drawn, was, to say the

least of it, a very hazardous proposition. We all knew that the enemy had a very large force of cavalry in the field, and were able, even the day we advanced from Peh-tang, to manœuvre round us, and get between us and that place: how much more easily then might they repeat this, when the bulk of our forces had been despatched across the river? In fact, if they at all appreciated their own strength, or the false position we should have thrust ourselves into, as soon as we had crossed the Peiho, the campaign might have easily been converted into one of victory for them.

From that moment we should have been an isolated force without any base of operations, without any means of communicating with our reserve stores, except by moving back a considerable number, and fighting an action to make our way into Peh-tang, which even a few days of bad weather might have at any time rendered almost inaccessible. We should have had to depend upon the uncertain resources of the country in and about Takoo, which we knew to be destitute of any cultivation, and to consist chiefly of mud and salt flats intersected by raised causeways which led to the forts, and along which, the information we had received led us to conclude, we should have had to advance in order to capture those strongholds. To leave the northern forts untaken would be to leave a large force on the left bank who could then operate upon our rear, and besides this, give them a *point d'appui* on that side, to which they might transport as much of their force as was available for service in the field. The construction of a bridge over the Peiho was no easy matter, and entailed a considerable delay, arising

from the fact of its being a tidal stream, with soft, muddy banks; and although boats were procured in sufficient numbers, yet much labour had to be expended in constructing anchors, and collecting other material, and when finished it was not suited for heavy guns.

If we had operated by the southern bank of the Peiho, as our allies wished, and supposing that everything had turned out in the very happiest manner, we could not possibly have been by the 1st September as far advanced in the work of the campaign as we actually were upon the evening of the 21st August, when, in pursuance of Sir Hope Grant's plan of attack, we had stormed and taken the northern forts. I need scarcely remark that time was everything to us. We had opened the campaign later than was expected at home, having been delayed a month at Talienwan, so that every day was of the greatest value to us. The cold weather was reported by all to commence towards the middle of October, and the climate in November was said to be most intolerable, the rivers being then frozen, and ice for some two or three miles out to sea along the coast.

For a private individual to criticise the acts of public men is generally both foolish and ridiculous; for a soldier to comment upon the deeds of his superior officer, and to presume to award either praise or blame to his chief, is a breach of discipline. Yet it may be allowable here to record the opinion of all in the China army, that no man had ever evinced a more praiseworthy determination, more self-reliance on his own opinions, or a greater fixedness of purpose in steadily carrying out what he believed to be the correct and

true line of operations than Sir Hope Grant did upon that occasion. On the one hand were a number of civilians all murmuring at his tardiness, scoffing at his caution, daily and hourly repeating, "What nonsense it is bringing up heavy guns,"—"Why don't we push on?" "I would take the forts to-night if I had a couple of hundred men!"—"The enemy are bolting and only waiting until we attack to bolt altogether"—such were the expressions in every one of these gentlemen's mouths. On the other hand, our allies were obstinate in their own opinions as to the necessity of taking the southern forts first, and even at the last moment their general formally protested against the line of conduct proposed and subsequently adopted by the English Commander-in-Chief. Under such circumstances nine generals out of ten would have been driven to some rash act, and yielded either to the impetuosity of those upon whom no responsibility devolved, or to the objections of our allies, urged, as they were, so strongly.

Sir Hope Grant proved himself superior to all these circumstances, and could he have heard or known the manner in which he was lauded by every one in camp on the evening of the 21st August, he would have been well repaid for any annoyance which his determination may have cost him; *i. e.*, if the praises of subordinates are ever dear to those in power, or the approbation of the "oi polloi" ever recompense public men for days of labour, sleepless nights, or the mental and bodily wear and tear experienced by all on whom rests great responsibility and the welfare of the many, not to mention the national honour or the glory of the British arms.

Sir Hope Grant had determined upon not making any onward movement until a depôt of supplies, sufficient for the army for ten days, had been collected at Sinho, the heavy guns and engineers' park brought to the front; and then, when all these were in readiness, he proposed to move out from Tang-koo and take the nearest of the northern forts.

By the night of the 20th August all was in train for this movement, and a road constructed over the great salt flat which extended to the north and west of the nearest northern fort, and which stretched round most of the fortifications of Tang-koo. Under the superintendence of Sir R. Napier, the road reconnoitred by Captain Lumsden was rapidly improved, advantage in the way of cover being taken of the embankments which formed the numerous canals intersecting the salt flat. Bridges or causeways had also been constructed over these canals. On the night of the 19th August pickets were thrown forward, towards the forts, in order to protect the working parties. During the night of the 20th the guns were taken down and placed in batteries which had been thrown up. We had sixteen guns and three mortars in action; the French had four guns, and all these opened fire at daybreak on the 21st instant, the enemy responding from their pieces which bore upon our position. The enemy's guns in the elevated cavaliers, which before were pointed seaward, had been reversed, and now fired into us as rapidly as they could load and discharge them. Amongst their guns were two English 32-pounders, taken from the gunboats they had sunk last year.

It was greatly to be regretted that Admiral Hope had not sent up our fleet of gunboats two days previously to the mouth of the Peiho, and by keeping them there, make a show of attacking with them. Had such been done, it is reasonable to suppose that none of these guns would have been turned landwards, and we should have been spared much of the heavy fire brought to bear upon us, whilst no loss would have been thereby occasioned to the navy. Only two boats of ours and two belonging to the French took up a position sufficiently distant to be beyond the range of the Chinese ordnance, and yet, at the same time, able to annoy the occupants of the forts. These gunboats fired but very little, and, owing to their being so far off, could not so accurately estimate the effect of their own fire as to be able to ascertain whether the shot fell short, or went right over into the Peiho, behind the northern forts. At about six o'clock in the morning, when the fire waxed hotter and hotter, every one being intent upon the scene then before him, and all anxiously speculating as to when the signal for a general advance would be given, a tall black pillar, as if by magic, shot up from the midst of the nearest fort upon which almost all our fire was concentrated, and then bursting like a rocket after it had attained a great height, was soon lost in the vast shower of wood and earth into which it resolved itself,—a loud, bursting, booming sound, marking, as it were, the moment of its short existence. A magazine had blown up, and in a small enclosed work, such as the one then before us, an explosion of this kind in most defences would have put an end to the contest; but such was not the case in this

instance. The fire from it certainly ceased for a minute or two, but before those who, in the interim, had pronounced the affair at an end could acknowledge their mistake, the garrison had reopened from their batteries. As long as a gun was left them they were determined to serve it, and most manfully they did so, all the while exposed to a most crushing shell fire brought to bear upon them, and with but little, and in some instances, no protection whatever against it. I know of nothing more startling at any time than the explosion of a magazine, and certainly at such moments as these it is doubly impressive. To the soldier exposed to a heavy fire and all the uncertainty attending upon an impending assault, which he knows must soon end the contest one way or another, as also, it may be, his own life, such an event is a relief. It occupies the mind, and serves, by the excitement which it causes, to withdraw thought from those painful subjects which, no matter how one may act, rise up like visions, whether as memories of the past or doubts and surmises regarding the future, and pass in solemn array before the bravest, who, at such times, may have no active duty to perform, and who is then merely a passive spectator,—exposed, however, to all the disagreeable contingencies of bullets, &c., and waiting until, at a given signal, he is up and charging where glory points the way, cheering with all the mad enthusiasm which those only who have themselves fought in a breach can possibly realise and none can adequately describe. Half an hour afterwards a second explosion occurred, and this time in the larger northern fort: whether occasioned by the fire from our Armstrong

guns or from that of our gunboats, was a debated point; the artillery affirming the former, and the navy giving the verdict in favour of the latter—with whom I am disposed to agree. By seven o'clock, all the large guns in the fort that we were attacking were completely silenced, most of them being knocked over by our shot. Our columns of assault were then ordered on, the French advancing by the right and approaching the angle of the work resting on the river's bank, and our party, consisting of the 44th and 67th Regiments, moving straight to their front towards the gate of the fort.

It is very easy when an undertaking of this kind is over, to pick out faults in the arrangements made beforehand, and many are the wiseacres afterwards, who say, "Oh, why was not so and so done?"—"How very stupid to have done so and so!" These remarks particularly apply to hangers-on about the camp, travelling gentlemen, and that class commonly known as adventurers. Errors in judgment are frequently made in all warlike operations, and such will ever be the case, as long as warfare presents such a vast variety of combinations. One of these mistakes was made in taking up a small pontoon bridge, instead of a number of ladders, or a small plank-bridge made like a fire-escape, to rest on wheels. As it happened, the pontoons were not only useless for the assault, but were really a very great impediment, as they blocked up the narrow causeway along which we had to advance, and exposed a large number of men for a considerable time as they carried them, and who had frequently to stop until a wounded man was removed from the party. A round

shot passed through one of the pontoons as we advanced, and rendered it quite useless. A few ladders made of bamboo, and a small number of planks carried along with them would have enabled all to get across both ditches easily, whereas all the English storming-party, who actually captured the place, in conjunction with the French, struggled and clambered across the wet, muddy ditch, having water nearly up to their armpits; the pontoons did not prove of any use, and were the unfortunate cause of many wounds and of several lives being lost. It was the rear face of the fort we attacked, in the centre of which was the gate, having two wet ditches running along the face of the work. From the outside of one of these the wooden bridge had been removed, and the drawbridge of the inner one drawn up. The gate itself was blocked up with strong timbers, placed closely together in rows, and inserted in the ground at the bottom. Mud and earth had been banked up along the interior of this face, so as to strengthen it against our shot. The river face was partly oblique to the line of the bank, so that at its south-eastern corner it nearly touched the stream, whilst in rear, at the south-western angle, it was some twenty or thirty yards from it. Such being the case, the two ditches could not be carried completely round the river face, and so the outer one terminated half-way up the work. The French, who had approached the angle, quickly perceived this, and many men having run round, thus turned the first ditch, although most of the men first up had scrambled across on the ladders. The Canton coolies in the French service carried their ladders, and I have never

seen men under fire behave with greater coolness, or perform their allotted work in a more matter-of-fact way. The space between the two ditches was only twenty feet, and this was planted as thickly as close stubble with sharp bamboo stakes, to cross which on foot was almost impossible; these were also placed along under the walls, between them and the inner ditches. The scramble over these two ditches and the staked places next to them was no easy matter, and all who crossed them deserve well of their country. Showers of missiles of all kinds, from pots filled with lime, to round shot thrown from the hand, were showered from the walls, and annoyed the gallant few who were fortunate enough to have reached the foot of the walls unhurt; whilst the poor fellows in rear who ran along the ditches, seeking for some favourable spots to cross at, or the more reckless ones who plunged into the ditch at the places they first came to, were exposed, not only to a rattling discharge of arrows, bolts from cross-bows, jingalls firing handfuls of slugs from the work itself, but also to a flanking fire of round shot, thrown with accuracy from the correspondingly placed fort on the south bank. It was during this period that almost the whole of our loss was incurred; and the narrow causeway, of about sixty yards in length, which led through the deep mud and water, extending along nearly the entire of the face attacked, was soon covered with the dead and dying. The obstacles to be overcome were so difficult, that an unpleasantly protracted time had elapsed before a sufficient number of men had assembled beneath the wall to attempt a scramble over it. The French had

succeeded in getting over three or four ladders; but as quickly as they placed them against the walls, they were as quickly thrown down or pushed back by the Chinese within, who, notwithstanding our proximity, were as active in their defence as when some hours previously we had been playing at long bowls with them. Many could be seen jumping on the parapet, and from thence taking deliberate aim at those below; and, having fired, they jumped back again to reload. Colonel Mann, of the Royal Engineers, who was amongst the first over the two ditches, with Major Anson, A.D.C., had, after much hacking and cutting with their swords, succeeded in severing the ropes which held up the drawbridge. Down it came with a crash, but it was so shattered by shot that, at first, it seemed incapable of sustaining any weight. A single beam of the outer bridge had been left by the Chinese; it was quite loose and rolled about, yet it enabled many to cross over. The quaint joking of our men was most amusing whenever any unlucky fellow, whilst crossing, overbalanced himself and fell into the ditch, from whence he climbed up the muddy bank opposite, there perchance to meet his death-blow, ere the very smile at his own mishap had passed from his countenance: such is life, death, and war. Every minute added to the number of men who got across and under the walls, round which they prowled to discover a scaleable place. Our guns still battered away at the parapet, wherever the enemy showed themselves in numbers, or attempted to work the iron guns which were placed almost at every yard along the works. Our allies commenced to ascend the

walls cautiously, the first and most daring being of course hurled back ladder and all ; but, when men are determined, and their courage is sustained by constantly increasing numbers coming up from the rear (which has of course a proportionally disheartening effect upon the besieged), success under such circumstances is generally on the side of the assailants. Up, rung after rung of the ladder the French crept warily, until at length, with a bound, the first man jumped upon the parapet and waved the tricolor of his nation, whilst every one joined in his maddening cheer, amidst the wild clamour of which his spirit passed away from him to another, and let us hope, a better world. He fell, shot through the heart, in the proudest position in which a soldier can die — who could wish for a nobler death ? Almost simultaneously with this event, young Chaplain, an ensign of the 67th Regiment, succeeded in reaching the top of the parapet, partly pushed and helped by the men along with him ; he carried the Queen's colour of his regiment, which he let float out proudly into the breeze ; it was a splendid sight to see. A regimental colour has been seldom used upon such an occasion before : it is generally an ordinary Union Jack, made of bunting, that is carried to plant in a breach, the other being a too dearly prized military emblem to risk in such a place, where the explosion of a mine, or the momentary success attending a sortie, might occasion its loss for ever, or hand it over an easy prey to the enemy. It was an inspiriting moment for every one, and each felt that strange sensation which thrills through the frame in all actions, when the turning point has been past, and the clouds

of uncertainty, which until then hung around the scene, are suddenly dispelled, revealing success.

Before our flag was displayed, some few had made their way within the gate, the first men of either army actually inside the work being an officer of the 44th Regiment, named Rodgers, and Lieutenant Burslem of the 67th Regiment; these were the small end of the wedge, which is ever quickly followed by the more substantial part. The Chinese still fought within the works, and the bayonets of both French and English had to come into play ere all resistance ceased. Ensign Chaplain and a small party who followed the colours, rushed up the ramp leading to the high cavalier which formed the principal feature of the fort, and cleared it with the bayonet of all the Chinese there; in doing this that gallant young officer received more than one wound. One Chinese general had been killed during the bombardment, and a second, the chief man who commanded all the northern forts, was shot by an officer of marines after he had entered. This general was a red-buttoned mandarin of the highest military order, and, refusing to submit, fought to the last.

The scene within the works bespoke the manner in which our artillery had done its part, and the *débris* caused by the explosion of the magazine lay in heaps everywhere, intermingled with overturned cannon, broken gun-carriages, and the dead and wounded of the garrison. Never did the interior of any place testify more plainly to the noble manner in which it had been defended. The garrison had evidently resolved either to fall beneath its ruins, or had been to

the last so confident of victory, from the strength of the place and our former defeat, that they never seemed to have even contemplated retreating. Two other circumstances also may have had much to do with the stoutness of the resistance shown us; one is, that the great general who commanded all the northern forts, and of whose death I have just spoken, had accidentally visited the place on an inspection, as the firing commenced, and remaining there, encouraged by his presence and example all who were inside. This is a rare thing in China, where it is proverbial that the officers are almost always the first to bolt, a misfortune to which the common soldiers ever attribute their defeat. The other circumstance is, that the peculiar nature of the defences rendered any exit from the forts almost as difficult for the Chinese as it was for us to get in. We attacked the weakest face; the front which looked down the river was the only place from which they could retreat, and was far more formidable than the rear, so much so, that it was only by letting themselves down by ropes to the foot of the walls, and then scrambling singly through the abattis and bamboo stakes that any could escape. This was a circumstance which also told greatly in our favour when reconnoitring the works, because a few men, availing themselves of any cover which the irregularities of the ground might present, could approach near any fort, knowing that they had only to protect themselves against the direct fire brought to bear on them, the obstacles around the fort serving to protect the reconnoitring party against any sortie quite as efficiently as they protected the garrison against a *coup de main.*

Thus fell the first Takoo fort, the key to the whole position. Preparations were immediately made for the attack on the large northern fort, which, once in our hands, would give us command over all the river defences.

Our heavy guns were advanced and unlimbered ready for action, to the left of the captured fort, whilst others were placed in position on the raised cavalier inside it. The two forts were exactly a thousand yards apart, having a raised causeway running between them, with wet ditches on either side. Between the causeway and the river the space was deep mud, and across this guns could not be taken; but north of it the ground was firm and well suited for the movement of all arms.

A small party, under the command of an officer of the Quartermaster-General's department, was sent out to reconnoitre this ground before the troops or guns were put in motion for it, and advancing slowly towards the place in skirmishing order, they ascertained its fitness for the purposes required. During all this time the enemy still kept up a heavy fire, and seemed particularly jealous of the approach of the reconnoitring party. Suddenly a white flag was hoisted on the large southern forts, and almost immediately afterwards numbers of other white standards floated from every work. All firing at once ceased. A man appeared coming from the direction of the large northern fort, carrying a flag of truce, who was met by Mr. Parkes, C.B., and a party who were sent out to ask him what was meant by this change. He could not give any satisfactory answer, and said that all he knew was, that a

white flag had been hoisted in Takoo, and that he had merely followed suit by doing similarly on the north bank. A boat was now seen to put off from the southern side bearing a flag of truce, and having a mandarin in it. He was taken to the fort in our possession, when it was found that he was merely the bearer of letters from Hung, the Governor-General, to Lord Elgin and Baron Gros, both of whom had just come up from the rear. These communications were evidently not considered satisfactory, because, I believe, no allusion was made in them to surrendering the other forts. Under these circumstances all our preparations for attack were still continued, and two fresh regiments were brought up. Although the white flags were still flying, the garrison would not allow any one to approach near the large fort, and were very rude in their gestures to those who accompanied the first flag of truce, who, availing themselves of the opportunity afforded them, went up to the first ditch. The soldiers apparently did not show any signs of succumbing. All this time boats were passing to and fro across the river, removing the wounded men, of whom there many, and some of whom could be seen in different directions crawling and dragging their wounded limbs over the slimy mud near the river's bank.

A message was sent to the Governor-General Hung, informing him that he would be given two hours to surrender the forts, after which time, should he not do so, our guns would reopen fire. Towards the expiration of the allotted period the sky became heavy and lowering, and a dark mass of dense clouds appeared to

windward, rising up in a threatening manner. Our troops began to advance. Still there was no sign of resistance on the part of the enemy; their guns did not open fire, and our men entered the great northern fort and quietly took possession of it. As we entered, we saw crowded together in one part about two thousand Chinese soldiers, who, having thrown away their arms and peculiar military caps, had assumed the guise of peaceable citizens. I have seldom seen men who could so easily transform themselves from one character to another. One moment they were impudent and sturdy soldiers, the next, as if by the slap of a harlequin's wand, they mysteriously became all at once, not only apparently civilians, but also very meek and humble looking ones. Such were the miserable looking people collected before us, all expecting that at some given signal they should be slain *en masse*, or honoured by the favour of individual decapitation. When informed that they were perfectly at liberty to go where they pleased, they could not at first understand or credit our leniency, naturally thinking that they must be deceived.

Their traditional history could not furnish a parallel instance in which prisoners, taken in war, were allowed to return intact to the bosoms of their families, or wherever their inclinations might lead them. We afterwards heard that this circumstance was much talked of everywhere, and our clemency greatly applauded.

The storm which had been gathering to windward now came rapidly up, and the rain poured down in torrents, whilst thunder and lightning added to the commotion above. Heavy rain is dreary anywhere,

even in the most picturesque countries; but let the reader picture to himself a heavy downpour, falling upon a flat muddy steppe, upon which there was not even a tree or patch of grass, and where distance was only in any way marked by the many ugly canals, with their accompanying high, earthen, unsightly banks. As we stood upon the lofty cavalier of the large northern fort, and looked down from thence upon this dreary expanse beneath, I do not believe human eye ever rested upon a more essentially hideous prospect. The rain increasing each moment, some spot which had been, comparatively speaking, dry before, gradually disappeared beneath the water, until at length it seemed as though another deluge was about to threaten mankind and his habitations. The road by which we advanced to the forts was for a considerable distance quite submerged, and the uncovered spots were so deep with mud that even the very lightest of our guns were only dragged through it by the united exertions of long teams of horses, aided by the tired gunners themselves, who kept spoking away at the wheels. No amount of horses, and of men attached to drag-ropes, could move our heavy guns or waggons; their wheels sank deeper and deeper every minute, until their naves touched the mud. It was fortunate for us that the enemy had surrendered the large northern fort, because under such a torrent we could not have done anything, even against the mildest resistance; no storming-party could have succeeded in crossing the deep mud in front of the works. Every one felt this as he struggled back to his wet tent, across the dreary waste, into the mire of which we sank knee-deep; many left their boots

after them, being unable to drag them from the sticky mud to which they seemed as if glued. All of us had been up long before daylight that morning, and had not partaken of any regular meal during the day. I need scarcely add, all were ravenously hungry. Fancy, under such circumstances, a long dreary ride back to camp, of five miles, over the worst of roads, which, when not fetlock deep, was so slippery that horses could only keep their footing with great difficulty; and then upon arrival to find that during your absence your camp had been completely flooded, and that the little bank you had constructed around your tent, hoping thereby to keep out the rain, had, after the water had either broken through or run over it, served quite an opposite purpose, so that then, when the water was subsiding everywhere else, as the rain ceased, your engineering arrangements had converted your canvas habitation into a pond, on the surface of which, the first thing which attracted your attention on entering, was your pet pair of boots floating about, whilst here and there the upper portions of some heavier article peeped up above the water, reminding you at a glance that most of your property was, unhappily, under it.

By the time we arrived in camp it had grown very dark,—a circumstance which increased our discomfort, and prevented us from doing many things towards bettering our condition, which, with daylight to aid us, we could have done. No effort could avail to kindle a fire, and it was with great difficulty that we succeeded in lighting a candle. Our clothes were, of course, thoroughly drenched on us, and not having any "dry

change," all that remained for us was, to lie down wet and cold as we were, and court slumber as best we could, after a frugal supper. Some ration biscuit, and a pot of stuff labelled "beef," but which I feel convinced had no just claim to such a high-sounding title, with a little brandy and water, was the welcome that awaited us, when we reached our temporary residence near Sinho, on the evening of the memorable taking of the Takoo forts.

Before it became dark, more than one communication had passed between the Chinese authorities and the allied commanders, and before the French and English had taken possession of the great northern fort, Mr. Parkes, under a flag of truce, went over into Takoo to have an interview with the Governor-General Hung, whom, after much badgering, he induced to sign a capitulation, in which he surrendered all the country and strong positions up the river, as far as Tien-tsin, including that city itself.

This mandarin was much to be pitied. In the service of his government, want of success is certain disgrace; he alluded to this himself, saying that it was Tan's misfortune in 1858 to be Governor-General and to be degraded then, and that now it was his own lot; every one had left him, even his private servants, like so many rats, which are said to forsake sinking ships. His officials, too, seemed quite to understand his fallen position, caring no longer to flatter and support a man on whom degradation's darkest shadow already rested. He appeared to regard the event as a matter of course, or as a Mussulman would say, "of fate."

The next morning the gunboats were hard at work,

removing the booms and stakes which blocked up the entrance to the river ; they soon cleared away enough to open a passage for themselves, so that within a few hours several of those useful little craft were steaming up the muddy waters of the Peiho. The first grand move had been made : we had captured the forts spoken of throughout China as impregnable, and upon whose fortification every care had been bestowed, and no expenditure spared ; every obstacle which the ingenious Chinese could think of had been employed, every trick of defence that their wit could suggest had been resorted to,—in a word, the essence of all the military and engineering skill possessed by the vast empire of China, from the plains and steppes of Thibet to the sea-shores of Assam, was exerted to render them invulnerable, and such every man in China believed them to be. News spreads everywhere most rapidly throughout the flowery land, and we were told that, before a fortnight had elapsed, our triumph was announced in all quarters, and the people learned at Canton, that the flags of England and France floated over the waters of the subjugated Peiho.

Admiral Hope, with some French and English gunboats, pushed on to Tien-tsin on the 23rd, and on the 25th, Lord Elgin and the Commander-in-Chief followed, whilst the 1st Royals, the 67th Regiment, and a battery of artillery were conveyed there in gunboats ; the cavalry, also, commenced their march on the 25th, and, moving up the left bank of the river, over great open plains of grass, reached Tien-tsin in two days ; then the 1st division, moving along the right bank, whilst the French marched up the other, Sir Robert Napier following with the 2nd division, leaving the 3rd Regi-

ment behind, in occupation, at the Takoo forts, and the Rifles at the Sinho bridge, for its protection.

Before starting for Tien-tsin, I spent a day inspecting the south forts, having previously examined those on the northern bank, and the more minutely one noted their relative bearings and the extent to which the defence of each depended upon that of the others, the more thoroughly was one convinced of the wisdom displayed by Sir Hope Grant in selecting the key of the whole position for an attack. The large south fort and the smaller one furthest out to sea could not actually bring a gun to bear upon the one we attacked, whilst from it, once we had taken it, we could enfilade the entire length of the largest south fort: — to have attacked the position from the sea would have been a fatal delusion; and the more one studied the defences and the obstacles placed in front of them, the more easy it was to understand why our attack in 1859 failed so completely. The great strength of the Takoo forts consists in the locality where they are situated. They stand on the banks of a tidal river, where no part of the surrounding country is more than three or four feet above high-water mark, and most of it covered by the spring tides, while those places which are left dry are only kept so by being enclosed with high earthen banks. Towards the sea, in front of these formidable works, there extends a muddy flat so deep that single men, when unladen, can with difficulty struggle through it; for any storming party to do so under a heavy fire would be almost impossible. But if we suppose them capable of this, and of gaining the harder ground, still, just in front of the outer ditch, there was a stiff abbatis

to get through, then two or three wet ditches to cross, having the spaces between them closely covered with pointed stakes; and last of all were the walls of the place, about fifteen feet in height and bristling with cannon and wall-pieces of all shapes and sizes. If anything like the opposition shown to us had been made against an attack from the sea, I do not believe that any troops in the world could have lived through such an assault. It is the custom of the world generally, and the British portion of it particularly, to abuse any one who is so unfortunate as to have met with a reverse or some unlooked-for check; but, whatever may have been said regarding Admiral Hope's attack on those places in 1859, how much more censure should we have heard if that gallant sailor at the time — perceiving the difficulties to be overcome, and knowing his weakness in having no troops at his disposal — had announced to Mr. Bruce, that his force was inadequate to capture the forts? England would have howled from one end of it to the other, and there would have been no lack of those who would have attributed to the naval Commander-in-Chief other and more unfavourable motives than those arising from extreme caution. These same forts had been taken easily in 1858 by his predecessor, the same line of conduct being pursued then as that which failed in 1859, so that if any brave man will for a moment imagine himself circumstanced as Admiral Hope was upon the occasion referred to, I am sure he will say that he (the Admiral), acted exactly as he himself would have done. Now that we know the exact strength of these works and the formidable resistance which their garrisons are capable of

showing, to attempt a landing in front of their embrasures, and with their artillery fire unsubdued, seems like the action of a madman; but, in the absence of such knowledge, and with the possession of this fact, that a year previously they had been captured in like manner, Admiral Hope's attempt was merely the action of a brave, gallant, and determined seaman. The forts were all made of mud, timber being used for the facing of the embrasures and roofs of magazines. The peculiar feature of their construction was having their principal batteries placed on high-raised cavaliers, the terrepleins of which were elevated about twenty-five feet above the plane of sight. This, of course, gave them great command, and had the further advantage of diverting the principal fire of an enemy from the main body of the works, where, of course, the chief portion of the garrison would be — and brave, indeed, must have been the men who served the guns placed there for any length of time under a heavy fire! Casemates constructed with timber ran along the sea face of all the works, and numbers of guns were placed there, firing from embrasures made like portholes in a ship's side. In these casemates a large portion of the garrison was quartered, the remainder occupying huts, built after exactly the same fashion as those in the Tartar camps which we took near Sinho, and were reed fascines, bent so as to form a semicircle, placed over a slight framework of wood, mud being plastered over the fascines, and then a coating of mud and chopped straw over all, which rendered the whole waterproof so long as this outer covering received no injury. Once tear a small piece of it away, and then the whole out-

side plastering tumbles down after a few days' heavy rain. The ends of these huts were made of planking, in which were the windows and doors: the hut in which Sang-ko-lin-sin resided was tastefully finished and fitted up with sofas and cushions. Amongst his papers we found maps and detailed plans of each of the forts: upon entering his quarters I was at once struck by seeing one of those little cane-bottomed chairs, generally to be seen in the cabins of gunboats and other vessels of war. It had been taken evidently from one of the sunken gunboats, and placed as a trophy in the great man's room. Along the walls, immediately above his sleeping-place, there was a long description, illustrated with quaint-looking pictures, of a proposed plan for annihilating the barbarians, should they ever be so successful as to attempt a march upon Pekin. The plan consisted in placing large quantities of combustibles and explosive mixtures upon bulls, covering them over with a sort of umbrella like clothing: these were to be brought in front of our army, having crackers or other fireworks attached to their tails, under the terrifying influence of which the animals were supposed to rush in upon us, the combustibles then exploding, to the utter confusion and destruction of the assembled army. The fact of such a childish plan being, if not approved of, at least entertained by the General-in-Chief of the Chinese army, is of itself a sufficient indication of the national ignorance respecting the science and practice of war. Many people at first believed, that much relating to war and its weapons of defence, &c. &c., had been taught this people by the Russians, with respect to whose conduct in

the East so little has ever been known, and consequently, so much suspected. The fact that this picture and its accompanying description found a space on the walls of Sang-ko-lin-sin's sleeping-room, ought to be a sufficient proof for the most suspicious on this subject, that neither the haughty Chinaman nor his Tartar governors have learned anything from their Russian neighbours. Indeed, the papers found amongst the documents taken from the Mandarin's house at Sinho showed in what a very suspicious light the celestial authorities looked upon the Russians residing in Pekin, ranking them only a little higher than spies and barbarians, anxious to render us every assistance. The departure also of the Russian ambassador from Pekin a few months before the actual commencement of hostilities proved clearly, that no very good understanding existed between him and the government of that place, and that he did not care to reside inside its walls whilst we were battering outside, should the tide of war ever take us up so far into the country.

There can be no doubt, however, that the Russians had endeavoured to ingratiate themselves into official favour with the Pekin Government, by supplying them with guns and munitions of war, as in one of the despatches from Pekin to Sang-ko-lin-sin, that chief is warned against the attempts of the Russians "to approach the coast under their old pretence of affording aid and bringing guns," &c.

Immediately in rear of the southern forts were the towns called Tung-koo and Se-koo; both of these, as also the adjoining position, being known under the title of Takoo, or the "Great Market." Between the

forts and the town, which is about a mile, the space was one large salt-flat, intersected by numerous deep canals, which could only be passed by the regular causeways extending between the town and the forts. There was a regular line of entrenchments, with ditches, running round those towns. The amount of labour expended upon the construction of the works had been immense, and if it was regularly paid for, must have cost the Chinese Government a prodigious amount of money. Had a tithe of it been spent under the superintendence of a skilful engineer, the place might have resisted us for months, or, in other words, our expedition must have virtually been a failure, as we were not in a condition to undertake a siege; and even if such had been possible, a few days of bad weather during our attack would have postponed our future operations considerably. If the men who had garrisoned the captured fort had possessed skill and discipline commensurate with their courage and determination, with a fair proportion of really efficient small arms, they might have scorned our attempt to capture the place as we did by open assault. In spite of their present ignorance of war, its customs, weapons, and science, if their inflated self-importance could be brought to realise their deficiencies, and to see clearly how immeasurably superior the Western nations are in all such matters, a very short time only would be required to enable them to assume such an attitude, that no nation, or combination of allied powers, would dare to invade their country. In Europe there are restless adventurous spirits, many of whom have all the requisite energy, and some the military know-

ledge, equal to that which on former occasions has enabled men, lost to all ties of home and country, to carve out with their own swords in distant lands that fame and fortune from which unfavourable circumstances, or their own heedlessness had debarred them in Europe; such men, with an equal sum of money and an amount of labour equal to that which was expended upon the Takoo forts at their command, might render that position impregnable in six months.

The road from Takoo to Tien-tsin passes close to the Peiho the whole distance, cutting off, however, the sinuosities for which that river is famous. For the first ten miles the road is simply a low mud embankment, running through numerous villages all close to one another, the intervening spaces being gardens and orchards very neatly arranged and evidently tended with the greatest care. Between the road and the river there was a mass of gardens, trees, and houses, whilst all to the west appeared one vast field of millet, or Indian corn, stretching away over the flat country as far as the eye could reach, with scarcely a house or village to be seen, and no trees. As you approach Tien-tsin, however, habitations and willows are sprinkled sparingly about to the westward. There are no wells, the Peiho supplying all wants of this kind; water is taken from it at the ebb tide, and although then of a dark yellow colour, it is soon rendered as clear as crystal by immersing a lump of alum in it, and merely waving it to and fro for about a minute. This has a remarkable effect, for when you have removed your hand, you may perceive the muddy matter sinking and settling at the bottom, just as if the momentary pre-

sence of the alum had converted it into lead. In order to avoid any unpleasant taste resulting from the alum, it must be removed soon. The houses along the road, as well as those composing the villages, are well built and comfortable habitations, all fitted up with fire-places. The sleeping apartments have the kangs or heating apparatuses which I have previously described. The poorer people build their houses of mud, with thatched roofs and a covering of mud over all. In addition to this, there is also a layer of fine mud and chopped straw plastered over the entire edifice, giving the whole a finished and pointed appearance, such as I have never seen earthen houses elsewhere possess. The angles are all neatly cut, and the walls are even and perpendicular. In the towns and villages there are large numbers of brick houses well tiled over, according to the peculiar fashion of China. The bricks and tiles used throughout all those places which I have visited in that country are of a dark neutral tint, which at a distance looks bluish and strange. Every little hamlet had its joss-house, containing in it the usual unsightly figures, some with many arms and legs, others with black, white, or red faces and limbs, all being as fantastic, hideous, and ungodlike in design, as they were uncouth in execution. I have never seen any people, if I except a few repulsive-looking priests, worshipping in such buildings; and the greater portion of those which I visited were badly cared for, everything within, including the gods themselves, being covered with dust and dirt. Were it not that I occasionally saw here and there a new temple in course of erection, I should have concluded that all respect had now-a-days departed from

amongst the Chinese for the idols which their ancestors had venerated and worshipped.

What strikes any one accustomed to European roads as being very peculiar is, that along the highway to the Imperial capital, there is a total absence of stone. The road all the way is merely a good cart-track over hardened mud: after heavy rain it would be quite impassable for wheeled carriages of any sort; and I very much doubt if even cavalry in any number could get over it. So very flat is the surrounding country that the presumption is strongly in favour of its being flooded in wet weather. There is one great difficulty to be encountered in moving an army along this road, namely, the lack of open ground for encampents. We remedied this by moving up in detachments, the cavalry marching by the left bank. At the first halting-place, the guns had to remain on the road for the night, there being a deep ditch on one side and a marsh running along the other. The first march was through a very close country. The road passes through a succession of gardens and villages, with ditches on either side, for many miles. It is also narrow, and does not widen much until Ko-kow is passed, after which it runs over extensive plains, which, at the time of our march, were rich with an abundant harvest. Here and there a Tartar encampment was visible, presenting indications of recent occupation.

At Pei-tang-kow there were four forts and an entrenched camp, lately constructed, at the bend of the river, where it formed a right angle, so that their guns swept down the reach of the stream. This position was intended as a second line of defence, in case we forced a

passage through the Takoo forts, the fortifications round Tien-tsin being the third; but the army, on whom devolved the duty of defending the first line, had learnt such a lesson, that no attempt was made to make a stand at either the second or third, and Admiral Hope's rapid advance up the river, after the capture of the Takoo forts, enabled him to land and occupy the Tien-tsin forts before the beaten army could be reorganised for another defence. As we approached Tien-tsin, the country became open and suitable for the movements of all arms to the westward of the road; but the tall Indian corn and millet, averaging from six to ten feet in height, prevented us from having a very extensive view. The land was level on all sides, without a mound larger than a grave; the corn was in the ear, but not yet ripe, the middle of September being harvest time. In many places along the road, and particularly, near villages, I saw coffins placed at the edge of the cartway. Some were nicely thatched over, or covered with an arch of brickwork, whilst others, containing the remains of poorer people whose relations were unable to provide such an arrangement for their deceased friends as I have spoken of in the former instances, were left by the roadside, just as the undertaker had turned the coffin out of his shop. Every village, through which we passed, contained stores of wood, some of it being magnificent timber, and the rest indifferent stuff, used for firing. The good is reserved for coffins, upon whose construction every Chinaman bestows his "little all," being anxious to provide a respectable receptacle for his bones. This is such a recognised custom, that a fond

son not unfrequently presents his father with as handsome a one as his means will admit of as a birthday present, and the gift is received by the parent as the most delicate attention his son can pay him.

At two miles down the river, from Tien-tsin, stand two newly-built forts, one on either bank, both beautifully finished. Their slopes and parapets were much neater and more highly finished than those at Takoo. From these, continued lines of entrenchments stretched round Tien-tsin, uniting again upon the river at about two thousand yards from Tien-tsin to the north of that city, their entire circuit being about fourteen miles. These lines, with a deep ditch in front, were well-made, and consisted of a substantial rampart with parapet on top. We ascertained that the construction of this vast work cost the Government only at the rate of fifteenpence the running foot, which, if the account be true, would make the entire cost of them somewhat less than 5000*l.*

Tien-tsin is a walled city, and in shape a right-angled parallelogram, the longer side being just a mile, the shorter one about a thousand yards; a large suburb stretches out from both the north and south. It is situated at the confluence of the Grand Canal with the Peiho, and is consequently, from its position, a town of great importance. The walls do not touch either of these streams, being some four hundred yards from them, but the intervening space is covered by a dense suburb, in which are situated the best streets and shops of the place. Vessels drawing eleven feet of water can go up as far as Tien-tsin; but above that city, when you pass beyond the tidal influence, boats of a lighter draught

only can ascend to Ho-see-woo, from which place to Tung-chow the river can only be ascended by junks drawing not more than eighteen inches of water; and even such vessels experience much difficulty in passing the wide and shallow portions.

Much discussion, both public and private, has been spent on the task of ascertaining the real name of the river we call the Peiho, or rather, of determining which of the two streams flowing into the Gulf of Pechili at Péh-tang and Takoo respectively, should properly be called by that name. No satisfactory answer has as yet been given on these subjects. I took some trouble to collect information on this point, and found that the river marked in our maps as the Peiho, like every other small one in this, and I believe, other parts of China, has no universally recognised name whatever. Its appellations are invariably local, and change every ten or twenty miles. Thus, for instance, at its mouth it is known as the Nan-ho, or "south river," whilst the river at Peh-tang is called the Peiho, or "north river;" the two rivers, which are so close together, being thus distinguished from one another in the locality where they fall into the sea, by the geographical position which they relatively occupy.

At Tien-tsin the river is called the Hy-ho, or "ocean river," because it runs from thence into the sea. Between Tien-tsin and Tung-chow (where it branches off into two distinct streams, both having different names), it is known generally as the Ta-ho, or "great river," but in many places people call it the Peiho. Local circumstances greatly influence the names of rivers throughout China, so much so, that as far as I could

learn, there is not one generally received and understood name for a single river in the empire. When you ask a Chinese the name of a river, he seems so much astonished that it would almost appear that the idea of rivers being distinguished by particular names had never previously occurred to him; and he generally replies, after a moment's consideration, either the "Ta-ho" or "Seaou-ho," *i.e.* the great or little river. If there happen to be two rivers in his neighbourhood, he distinguishes them thus; but if only one, although it may be an insignificant stream, he calls it the "Ta-ho," by which the Yang-tse-kiang and brooks no larger than those frequently crossed in the hunting-field are alike known in China.

Rivers flowing sluggishly through a flat country, turn and twist about to a great extent; but I have never seen any stream bend like the Peiho, insomuch that when sailing upon it we could look back and see boats, although bound for the same destination, apparently going in diametrically opposite directions as regards the points of the compass. The angles are in many places so very acute, that it is only with the aid of ropes, on both banks, that steamers of ordinary length can get round them. There is a bridge of boats maintained by the authorities over the Peiho at Tien-tsin, and two over the Grand Canal. Opposite the city on the left bank there is a considerable suburb, and always a vast quantity of salt stacked along the bank. This is brought up the river from Takoo and the surrounding country, where the salt is collected from the marshes and salt-works about the neighbourhood where the Peh-tang and Peiho flow into the sea. This salt is

of great value and forms a very considerable article of traffic. It is sent up from Tien-tsin in smaller vessels to Tung-chow, by the Peiho, and from thence by the canal to Pekin, or else, it is forwarded inland to the westward along the Grand Canal. As in all the Chinese cities I have seen, the suburbs touch the walls, and the ditch is merely a miry sewer that may be crossed anywhere with ease. In many places the walls are sadly out of repair; and although the outward revetment of brickwork stands perfect, yet the inner one, which should support the rampart, has fallen down in many places, causing such breaches in it that you cannot walk well along the top. There are but four gates, one in each side, having straight streets running from one to the other, and in this way dividing the town into four equal quarters. Where these four streets meet there is a high josshouse-like building, under which the roadways pass through large gates. The space within the city walls is not nearly covered with houses, and at each corner there are large pools of water, in and about which there are numerous graves, and all appear more or less a receptacle for filth. There are no wells; the water of the Peiho is used for drinking, when cleared with alum in the manner I have mentioned. There are large ice-houses everywhere, which are filled yearly with ice from the river, towards the end of winter. Ice was regularly hawked about the streets daily, during my stay at Tien-tsin, and sold cheap. When dissolved, many people use it instead of the waters of the Peiho, particularly below Tien-tsin, where, owing to the tide flowing up with such force, the water is frequently

brackish. In the forts at Takoo there were regular ice-houses, from whence the garrison derived its water for drinking. Grapes, apples, pears, and peaches, could also be procured in great abundance, and at a very reasonable rate ; the grapes were very good indeed. The people were civil, and brought us water and tea whenever we halted along the road. Supplies of all sorts were sold to the troops at a moderate price, and there was also an abundance of grain for horses. Indeed, at this season of the year any force of cavalry might march along the Pekin route and find plenty of corn. The cattle eat millet greedily, whilst but few horses, unless very hungry, would touch the paddy. Upon reaching Tien-tsin the force encamped on a fine plain extending beyond the lines of works south of the city, and near the Yamum where Lord Elgin signed his treaty in 1858, and which temple we converted into our general hospital. The French, who had marched up the left bank, encamped close by the river on that side of it.

CHAP. VI.

DIPLOMATIC NEGOTIATIONS AT TIEN-TSIN, AND THEIR ABRUPT SUSPENSION.—DEPARTURE OF THE ARMY FROM TIEN-TSIN.—MARCH TO CHANG-KIA-WAN, AND BATTLE THERE.—TREACHEROUS CAPTURE OF BRITISH AND FRENCH SUBJECTS BY THE CHINESE.—DESCRIPTION OF CHANG-KIA-WAN AND ENEMY'S POSITION.—BATTLE OF THE 21ST SEPTEMBER NEAR PA-LE-CHEAOU.

At Tien-tsin Lord Elgin and the Commander-in-Chief occupied quarters in a very fine house, belonging to Tsung-han, the Salt Commissioner. It was in the suburb, which lies between the eastern face of the city and the river. The entrance to it was from the quay running along the Peiho, so that all steamers coming up from Takoo could lie just off the doorway and only a few yards from it. The house within was so commodious, that Lord Elgin invited Baron Gros to stop there also, so that with the two embassies and the English Commander-in-Chief's staff, the place was fully occupied. General Montauban took up his quarters in the Joss-house, where Lord Elgin had stopped during his visit to Tien-tsin in 1858.

A few days after our arrival at Tien-tsin, it was intimated to the French and English ambassadors that Kweiliang, Hang-ki, and Hang-fu had been appointed by the Emperor to act as Commissioners for the arrangement of affairs with us. All were to be in Tien-

tsin by the 31st August. Kweiliang, an old man who had frequently before been engaged in carrying on diplomatic business with foreigners, was the chief of the party, and pretended to be most anxious for a peaceable solution to all points at issue between us. Daily meetings took place between these Commissioners and Messrs. Wade and Parkes. Kweiliang, in announcing to Lord Elgin his nomination as Imperial Commissioner, had declared, in a very cunningly worded letter, that he had with him the "Kwan-fang," or great seal, and that he had power to discuss and arrange all matters connected with the treaty of 1858, and those which were specified in the ultimatum of March 1860. Peace was talked of by all people belonging to the embassies as a certainty, so that in the army all were speculating as to their chances of getting home to England before Christmas. We were told that the only difficulty raised by Kweiliang was as to the strength of the escorts which should accompany the ambassadors to Pekin. Of all things they objected most strongly to any guns being sent along with the parties, alleging that such an arrangement would disturb the minds of all the country people, who were very timid, and dreaded the presence of foreigners. If peace was concluded, "why should we wish to take a large force with us?" Our doing so would be, they averred, an indication of our want of confidence in them. They also endeavoured to persuade Lord Elgin to go up by boat along the river to Tung-chow.

In this manner some eight days of most valuable time were frittered away in discussing preliminaries. It was at last settled, that an interview between the Imperial

Commissioners and Lord Elgin should come off on the 7th September, and that the convention should be signed the day following. Messrs. Parkes and Wade had an audience with Kweiliang upon the evening of the 6th, when they pressed him to produce his written powers to treat with us. In an interview with Hang-ki which they had had that same afternoon, suspicions seemed to have arisen in Mr. Parkes's mind, that the Commissioners were not possessed of the requisite Imperial decree, which alone would enable them to sign the convention. These suspicions gave rise to the demand that Kweiliang's written powers should be shown them. That Chinese dignitary endeavoured to avoid this straightforward request, feigning indisposition, shilly-shallying and beating round about the bush, and trying to gain time in the manner usual with diplomatists of his nation. His manner, however, clearly showed that there was something wrong; and the English gentlemen with whom he was dealing, were far too accustomed to such manœuvres not to observe it at once. They left him, saying that it was useless to talk any more upon the subject of the convention with one unprovided with the necessary powers from the Emperor to act in his name. Lord Elgin immediately informed Kweiliang, that owing to the want of good faith shown by him and his colleagues, regarding the authority of which he had implied the possession, he had determined upon advancing directly to Tung-chow, and that until he arrived at that place he declined receiving their visits. The announcement of our failure fell like a shell amongst us. All those who were supposed to be in the diplomatic secrets had been up to the last moment so confident that all

fighting was at an end, that the army generally accepted such assurances without questioning. This caused us to laugh all the more heartily when we learnt that negotiations were broken off. Sir John Michel's division reached Tien-tsin on the 2nd September, the cavalry on the 26th August, the 1st Royals, 67th Regiment, and some guns the day before; Sir Robert Napier's division on the 5th September. On the 3rd of that last-named month we were in a position to have moved on towards Pekin with the 1st division and cavalry, leaving the 1st and 67th Regiments behind at Tien-tsin as a garrison. As we subsequently discovered from official papers captured in the Emperor's palace, it was never intended that Kweiliang's negotiations should be anything more than a sham to gain time and so, if possible, prolong operations into the cold season, which they considered too inclement for our constitutions to bear up against. It is to be regretted that our diplomatic agents did not prevent Kweiliang and Company from succeeding, by opening their intercourse with him by a demand for the written powers authorising him to sign the convention in the Emperor's name. Such a precaution was one which would have suggested itself to all ordinary people, and I can only account for its non-adoption, by supposing that long practice in the diplomatic science has the effect of raising our intellectual powers above the process of reasoning common to the uninitiated in its solemn mysteries.

In consequence of negotiations having been thus abruptly broken off, it was determined that our troops should at once commence their march towards Tung-chow. Of the road between Tien-tsin and Pekin we

knew but little and could obtain but little satisfactory information.

Our means of land transport were but limited, and the fifty carts required by the embassy were only collected in Tien-tsin with difficulty. It was generally believed that the river was only navigable as far as Ho-se-woo for the sort of boats calculated for the conveyance of troops and heavy stores. Of the amount of supplies procurable along the line of route, no positive information could be obtained. It was therefore arranged between the allied Commanders-in-Chief that the two armies should advance by detachments. Brigadier Reeves with 99th Regiment, 200 Marines, Barry's and Stirling's batteries, the King's Dragoon Guards, and Fane's Horse to start on the 8th September. The French (about 3000 men) on the 10th ; Sir John Michel with the 2nd brigade, Desborough's battery and Probyn's Horse, on the 12th September. Sir Robert Napier with the 2nd division was to remain behind at Tien-tsin in command, but to be in readiness for advancing at any moment when called upon to do so. Upon Sunday the 9th September, Lord Elgin and Sir Hope Grant left Tien-tsin, and joined Brigadier Reeves's force at Hookow, and advanced to Yang-tsun the day after. During the night all the native Chinese drivers who had been collected before leaving Tien-tsin decamped, taking with them all their mules and ponies.

A violent thunder storm accompanied by heavy rain had enabled them to make their escape without being perceived.

The 11th September was fine, but, owing to the immobility of the embassy from their loss of transport, a

march was impossible. Parties were sent out into the country to try and recover the animals or procure others, but without success. Several junks were, however, seized, into which were transferred all stores and baggage for which no other transport was available. This desertion of the drivers was evidently directed by the Chinese authorities, in order to retard our march, and was a very fair indication of their animus towards us.

Upon the 11th September a despatch from Pekin reached Lord Elgin. It was from Tsai, the Prince of I, a Captain-General of the Imperial Guard, and Muh, a member of the Great Council and President of the Board of War. It said that as Kweiliang and his colleagues had failed in bringing the negotiations lately entered into at Tien-tsin to a satisfactory conclusion, the Emperor had directed them to proceed to Tien-tsin to arrange matters with his Excellency the British Minister, and that, as they intended commencing their journey towards that place on the following day, they hoped Lord Elgin would alter his previously announced determination of advancing to Tung-chow, and await their arrival at Tien-tsin. Lord Elgin's answer was to the effect that he would sign no treaty before reaching Tung-chow, of which decision he had already informed their Excellencies Kweiliang and Company. Two letters reached Lord Elgin on the 12th September from the same source; one of these communications arrived in camp in the morning, the other in the evening. The first expressed astonishment at our advance from Tien-tsin, and was evidently written with the intention of trying what effect a high tone and an affectation of

injured innocence would have upon us. As no reply was vouchsafed to it by his Lordship, I suppose they inferred that it had failed in its object. The second letter received was humbler in its general tone and was accordingly answered by Lord Elgin. The whole drift of both these letters was, that our force should return to Tien-tsin, and that his Lordship should reopen negotiations there. A civil but positive refusal was returned.

On the 13th September the English reached Ho-se-woo. That town, like all those between it and Takoo, stands upon the river's bank, there being but few wells and little other water-supply except the Peiho itself. It is the largest place between Tien-tsin and Tung-chow; Chang-kia-wan in its present ruined condition, although formerly a walled-in city, being of less importance. The country through which we had passed was one vast level plain covered, as far as the eye could range, with high standing crops of maize and millet. The road by which we had advanced was unmetalled, but hard and good in dry weather; after heavy rain it would be, however, impassable for all wheeled conveyance. The villages which we passed consisted of well-built houses, mostly enclosed by neatly kept gardens and orchards. The people as far as Nan-tsai-tsun were most friendly and obliging; none had flown from their houses, and all appeared anxious to help us, bringing in fruit, vegetables, &c., into our camp for sale. Between that place and Ho-se-woo there was a marked change visible in the disposition of the inhabitants towards us. Whenever we approached a village the people fled, and shunned all communication with us.

Ho-se-woo we found almost entirely deserted, only a few of the worst characters remaining behind for the purpose of plundering the establishments of those who had left. There were two very large pawnbrokers' shops there, containing great quantities of warm clothing and valuables of all sorts. We placed guards over them, but the Chinese thieves climbed over the walls and roof tops at night and succeeded in carrying off property without being perceived. When this was discovered, all the Chinese remaining in the town were ordered to quit forthwith, in order to save what remained. We procured delicious grapes and very good vegetables there, and the large quantities of yams and sweet potatoes growing in the surrounding fields enabled our army to feed well. Ho-se-woo is closely surrounded by orchards of peach, apple, and pear trees, besides numerous clumps of willows. The river is not more than about a hundred yards wide at Ho-se-woo, dwindling away at some points to scarcely fifty, and at one or two places to about twenty yards. The water is clear and good, being above the tidal influence ; but wells become numerous in the district north of it.

As it was very doubtful whether the Peiho was navigable at that time of year for large boats beyond Ho-se-woo, and as the supplies procurable from the country were very uncertain, Sir Hope Grant determined upon converting that town into a depôt for stores, and establishing a large field hospital there. Admiral Hope had organised flotillas consisting of from sixty to eighty junks in each. An English sailor lived on board each vessel, and each flotilla was under the immediate charge of a commander, with a due propor-

tion of naval officers under him. The siege train was floated up the river on pontoons, tracked by sailors or Chinese boatmen. Small detachments of troops accompanied each flotilla at first, marching along the banks for its protection, but latterly this precaution was found unnecessary, and was consequently discontinued. Ho-se-woo was the best half-way station which could be fixed upon between Tien-tsin and Pekin, being about forty miles from the former and the same distance from the latter. As the troops were marching up from Tien-tsin to Ho-se-woo in detachments, it was determined to collect them at that place, before making any advance towards the capital, so that a halt for a few days there became indispensable. Daily communication passed between the Imperial Commissioners and our embassy. Tsai, Prince of I, and his colleagues seemed so bent upon peace, and the difficulties of transport were so great, that orders were sent back to Sir Robert Napier, directing him to halt at Tien-tsin, as it was not expected that the services of his division would be required in advance of that city.

Upon the afternoon of the 13th September, the day on which we arrived at Ho-se-woo, Messrs. Wade and Parkes with an escort of twenty cavalry, went forward to meet the Imperial Commissioners at Matow, twelve miles from our camp. Upon reaching that village, they found that their "Excellencies" had fallen back upon Tung-chow, disliking evidently the proximity of our army. Our party consequently pushed on for that last-named town, which they entered upon the following day. They had a lengthened interview with the Imperial Commissioners, when, after the usual shilly-

shallying and childish endeavours to protract arrangements, it was finally settled that the allied forces were to advance to within five li (about a mile and a half) of Chang-kia-wan and halt there, Lord Elgin with an escort of 1000 men proceeding on to Tung-chow, where he was to be furnished with suitable quarters. He was to meet the Imperial Commissioners there and sign the convention. That accomplished, he was to proceed with the same escort to the capital for the purpose of ratifying the old treaty.

Upon the 16th September Sir John Michel reached our camp at Ho-se-woo, bringing with him the 2nd Regiment, 15th Punjaub Infantry, Desborough's, battery, and Probyn's Horse. Upon the 17th the army and 1000 French marched to Matow, leaving the 2nd Regiment with three guns and 25 cavalry behind at Ho-se-woo for the protection of the hospitals and stores there; 100 irregular cavalry were also left there as an escort for Lord Elgin who remained behind. A small detachment of cavalry was posted at Yang-tsun for the purpose of keeping open the communications, and conveying letters &c. &c. On the same day that we marched to Matow, Messrs. Loch and Parkes went on to Tung-chow to arrange for Lord Elgin's reception there.

At five o'clock A.M. on the 18th September, our force advanced, having been joined upon the evening before by the 2nd Regiment, which, upon being relieved by the 60th Rifles at Ho-se-woo, had started for head-quarters. Lieut.-Colonel Walker, Assistant Quartermaster-General to the cavalry, together with Assistant Commissary-General Thompson, had accompanied Mr. Parkes's party to Tung-chow upon the previous evening, the

former to arrange with the Chinese authorities as to the site for our camp near Chang-kia-wan, the latter for the supplies required by our troops. It was arranged that Colonel Walker should meet us upon the march on the 18th, and conduct us to the ground indicated by the Chinese for our force to encamp upon.

Upon leaving Matow the road kept near the river for the first two miles, the country around, like all over which we had hitherto passed since we had left Tien-tsin, was highly cultivated, the crops still standing. A little further on the road struck off from the river. Far and near the millet and Indian corn had been cut, which struck many as being ominous, particularly when, upon advancing about a mile further, our advanced guard came suddenly upon a Tartar cavalry picket, which fled when we approached. This naturally put our men upon the *qui vive*. Military men are far less confiding than civilians in dealing with uncivilised nations. The little experience that I have had goes to prove that the latter are far more rash and less liable to take the precautions which ordinary military knowledge would indicate as necessary. How often have I known civilians, accompanying an army, scoff at the caution of general officers, forgetting altogether that any commander who fails to provide against every possible mistake or probable contingency is deeply culpable. By the strange contrariety of human nature, it is generally these irresponsible gentlemen who are first loudest in their abuse of officers who fail in anything through rashness or want of caution. Notwithstanding the confident assurances which we heard upon all sides from those connected with our embassy, that

peace was almost a certainty, every soldier in our force thought that the aspect of affairs was very threatening, when, upon debouching from the village of Woo-tse-ying and approaching that of Le-urh-tsze, we found ourselves in presence of a very large army, covering a front of about five miles in extent. Sir Hope Grant immediately halted the force, and sent orders to the rear that all the baggage should be collected in the village through which we had just passed, upon which place the rearguard was to close for its protection. Large bodies of Tartar cavalry kept closing in towards our flanks, and infantry in force were to be seen pouring in to the position in our front, along which enormous batteries of guns were visible. Shortly after we had halted, Mr. Loch, accompanied by three sowars, galloped in from the Chinese army, bringing with him letters from Mr. Parkes, announcing that all points had been arranged satisfactorily with the Imperial Commissioners. Lord Elgin had previously determined upon sending, post haste to Shanghai for Mr. Bruce, our Minister there, if Mr. Parkes's interview with the Commissioners upon the evening of the 17th instant should prove successful. In order to carry this out, it was arranged that Mr. Parkes should write from Tung-chow to Captain Jones of the Royal Navy, who accompanied the army for that purpose, telling him of the issue of his negotiations with the Prince of I, and if, as was confidently expected, all our requests were agreed to, Captain Jones was to start off at once for the fleet upon the receipt of Mr. Parkes's letter, and sail for Shanghai.

Captain Jones received a letter from Mr. Parkes, just before the action commenced, saying that everything

had been arranged with the Commissioners. Mr. Loch informed us that he, Colonel Walker, Commissary-General Thompson, Mr. Parkes, five men of the King's Dragoon Guards, and four sowars had left Tung-chow at a little after five o'clock A.M. on that morning, leaving Lieutenant Anderson and the rest of the escort (17 sowars) behind in that place. Mr. Bowlby, the "Times'" correspondent, and Mr. de Norman, an attaché to our Minister at Shanghai (with the Commander-in-Chief's knowledge), had, it appeared, also accompanied the party into Tung-chow upon the day before, and remained behind with Lieutenant Anderson the next morning. This division into two parts of the original party as despatched by Sir Hope Grant's orders, has never, that I am aware of, been properly accounted for. When it was determined that Mr. Parkes should proceed to Tung-chow, an escort of picked men was furnished for his personal protection.

With a nation so notoriously deceitful as the Chinese, no amount of peaceful declarations, or assurances, warranted the breaking up of that escort into two portions, and leaving one of them behind in a crowded city belonging to men who by no stretch of imagination could be termed friends until peace had been actually signed. To have done so was a disregard of all military precaution, which common sense might have pointed out as most dangerous. From Mr. Loch we learnt that when *en route* that morning for our army, they had passed considerable bodies of troops in and about Chang-kia-wan, and had seen many guns in battery where, on the previous day, no preparations had been made for them, and no troops

were to be seen. Mr. Parkes expostulated with the officials on the spot, but they would not or could not give him any satisfactory explanation, merely referring him to their general, who, they said, was away at some distance. Affairs seemed threatening; so Mr. Parkes determined upon returning to Tung-chow, to request the Commissioners to explain why an army was in occupation of the ground where it had been decided we should encamp. He took with him only Private Phipps of the King's Dragoon Guards. It was at the same time decided that Colonel Walker should remain upon the road with the escort for the purpose of examining the enemy's position and watching their movements, whilst Mr. Loch should ride on to Sir Hope Grant to inform him how affairs stood. Only one construction could be put upon the matter. It was evident that the object was to entrap us when off our guard, getting us to encamp upon ground commanded by their artillery and completely surrounded by their troops. To surround an army on all sides is always a favourite theory with nations unskilled in war, and one which Sang-ko-lin-sin always endeavoured to effect in his engagements with us. He seemed to think that our forces, if once enclosed upon all sides by his Tartar cavalry, must fall an easy prey to his superior numbers.

The presence of Mr. Parkes and his party in Tung-chow, and of Colonel Walker and his party within the enemy's lines, was a great drag upon our movements, as the Commander-in-Chief naturally dreaded compromising their safety by an immediate attack. Mr. Loch volunteered to return to Tung-chow for the purpose of collecting the party of our people there and bringing

them back with him. Captain Brabazon, Deputy Assistant-Quartermaster-General to the Royal Artillery, volunteered to accompany him, carrying an order from Sir Hope Grant, directing all our people then in Tung-chow to return to our army at once. Two sowars carrying a flag of truce went with them. It was then about eight o'clock A.M. Our cavalry moved out towards our flanks, for the purpose of watching the enemy's movements, but with orders to avoid coming into collision with them.

Close by the road along which we had advanced, were three small mounds, standing about four hundred yards from the enemy's batteries in front of the village of Le-urh-tsze. From these mounds a good view of the surrounding country was to be had. We could see the red coats of our dragoons belonging to Colonel Walker's party, which was moving about through the Chinese troops, whose grey uniforms made the scarlet of our men all the more plainly visible. Whilst halting there awaiting Mr. Loch's return, Hang-ki, one of the Imperial Commissioners, came in under a flag of truce, requesting to see Lord Elgin; but upon learning that he was at Ho-se-woo in rear, he returned to his own army. A Chinese officer and three men also arrived, saying that they had come to conduct us to the ground arranged for our camp.

Between ten and eleven o'clock, whilst we were awaiting Mr. Parkes's return, a commotion was visible amongst the Chinese troops, and immediately their batteries opened, and a long line of fire was delivered by their infantry. Colonel Walker and his party were discovered galloping through the enemy, and in a few

minutes arrived amongst us. The account which he gave was, that whilst waiting in the Chinese lines for the return of Mr. Parkes and others from Tung-chow, he kept moving about examining the enemy's batteries, &c. &c., as far as he was allowed to do so. At first the Chinese officers were civil, but after some time he perceived their manner changing perceptibly, until they became rude, trying to prevent him from going about. He warned the escort he had with him to be particularly guarded in their conduct and avoid any collision if possible. At one time a number of soldiers pressed in around him, and one of them, from behind him, tilted his sword from its scabbard. A Chinese officer, who was by, however, had it returned to him. Shortly after this circumstance, Colonel Walker's attention was drawn to a party of noisy Chinamen collected round a French officer, who, having accompanied the original party to Tung-chow, was then on his way back to the army. Upon seeing Colonel Walker he called out for assistance. That officer at once made his way up to him, and found that he had received a severe sabre cut on his head, and some other wounds about the body. Colonel Walker took him by the hand, and was endeavouring to help him away, when a rush was suddenly made upon him by the Chinese soldiers. They succeeded in drawing his sword from its scabbard, and in endeavouring to prevent this Colonel Walker cut his hand, and was obliged to let go the French officer, who was immediately knocked down, whilst at the same time they tried to pull Colonel Walker off his horse. To remain any longer amongst them

without fighting was impossible, and for a few men to contend against crowds would have been ridiculous. He called out therefore to his party to ride for their lives, and all started for our army at a gallop, cutting their way through with only two wounded and one horse shot, although all the enemy near fired at them, and their batteries, as I have already mentioned, let drive at them as they went. Colonel Walker had a most trying time of it, whilst waiting in the midst of the Chinese army for Mr. Parkes's return, nor could many have conducted themselves with such good temper and composure as he displayed then. Several Chinese officers had invited him and urged him to dismount and go into a house which was near, for the purpose of waiting there; but with wise military precaution he would not allow himself to be separated from his party. Had he done so, it is reasonable to suppose that he would have shared the same miserable fate that Brabazon and Anderson met with.

The firing, once commenced, was kept up vigorously by the enemy. The French, numbering 1000, with a battery of artillery, were upon our right, and General Montauban sent to Sir Hope Grant to say that he was about to advance direct upon the village and works in his front. As our allies had no cavalry, a squadron of Fane's Horse was sent to act under the orders of General Montauban, who placed them upon his right flank, directing them and the few spahis composing his own personal escort, to sweep round the village whilst the infantry attacked it in front. This was brilliantly effected under the immediate command of Colonel Foley, C.B., the English Commissioner at

French head-quarters, to whom General Montauban had entrusted that duty. As Messrs. Brabazon and Loch had then been away over two hours, it was concluded that they had been detained in Tung-chow. Sir Hope Grant then formed his troops for a movement in advance. There was some rising ground upon our right front, from which our 9-pounder battery made good practice, a squadron of the King's Dragoon Guards supporting them. The 99th Regiment was deployed and ordered to advance up the road leading to the village in our front, supported by two 9-pounders. The 15th Punjaub Infantry, with the Armstrong guns, took ground to the left; the 2nd Regiment (Queen's) with Stirling's 6-pounders and the cavalry were ordered to make a great flank movement to our left.

In describing the Chinese position, I may say that its right rested upon the old walled-in town of Chang-kia-wan, and its left upon the Peiho, a distance of between three and four miles. The Seaou-ho (little river), ran between these two points, and was fordable almost everywhere. Beyond it rose a succession of sand-hills, interspersed with trees and stunted bushes. The road to Tung-chow ran upon our side of it, passing, for a distance of more than a mile along a high embankment, which the enemy had scarped and turned into batteries, with but little labour. At about one thousand yards from the Peiho, was the long straggling village of Le-urh-tsze, in front of which several batteries had been constructed with trees and earthwork; and further again to the left was another small village, sufficiently far in advance to enable the batteries thrown up around it to

flank with their fire the centre of the line. At about a mile's distance from the suburb of Chang-kia-wan, a watch-tower stood upon the road-side, in front of which a strong line of batteries had been erected, at right angles to the general direction of the front, and thus flanking from that extremity all the enemy's position within range. Their position in this manner closely represented a front in modern fortification. Its one great error was having the little river close behind. I suppose it was a dislike to having their cavalry separated from their guns and infantry, as well as the existence of the embankment upon the south side, which induced them to prefer that bank of the stream. Our artillery soon produced a marked effect upon the enemy's batteries and troops; and the allied armies advancing, soon drove the latter from their fieldworks. The firing of our Armstrong guns was admirable, each shot telling upon the large bodies of Tartar cavalry, which kept moving round towards our left flank and rear. Major Probyn charged with his usual dashing brilliancy, and cleared the ground to our immediate left. Sir John Michel, to whom the movement upon the enemy's right was entrusted, found such large bodies of Tartars on his front and flank that he could not make the flank movement intended without losing his connection with our main body. The 15th Punjaub Infantry were therefore directed to advance upon the enemy's flanking batteries, which raked our other troops. They accomplished this in a most creditable manner, capturing several guns. The Armstrong guns were then sent to Sir John Michel, who swept round to the south of Chang-kia-wan, whilst the 15th Punjaub Infantry pushed through

it. Our allies had in the mean time taken all the works in their immediate front. The squadron of Fane's Horse, under General Montauban's orders, had accomplished great things, they and the Arab spahis of his personal escort vieing with each other in pursuing the flying enemy. Our pursuit lasted up to about two miles beyond Chang-kia-wan, when we halted and destroyed the numerous camps which were dotted about over the country. These camps were neatly arranged, and were composed of clean, well-made, cotton tents, pitched in squares, the centre space being uncovered, and evidently devoted to cooking and parade purposes. In front of each tent stood an arm rack, made roughly with boughs of trees. Each camp contained large cauldrons for cooking, and altogether their interior economy was highly creditable. There were considerable quantities of powder in almost every tent, so that when the tents were set on fire, the numerous explosions filled the air with volumes of smoke, which shot up in tall graceful columns every moment whilst the work of destruction was going on. Those in Pekin must have had early intelligence of their defeat from these explosions. How the hopes of the war party there must have sunk within them as each succeeding cloud of smoke went upwards, announcing the destruction of their camps, and the failure of all their deeply-laid schemes of treachery. How they must have cursed Sang-ko-lin-sin's ill-luck, and wished they had never listened to his boasted confidence in victory.

As we afterwards discovered, from captured correspondence, he had written to the Emperor from Ho-se-woo, saying, that although we were advancing from

Tien-tsin, our numbers were so very inconsiderable that the Celestial mind might remain perfectly at ease, as the position he had chosen in front of Chang-kia-wan was so very strong, and his numerous troops so well placed, that it would be an easy matter to annihilate the barbarians, if we should advance so far. Whilst he was writing thus to his Imperial master, the Prince of I and his colleagues were treating with our embassy. The French troops had marched over a considerable extent of ground in their advance, and were too tired to advance beyond Chang-kia-wan that evening, so they encamped without the town, which our troops, being in advance, occupied, the cavalry and artillery encamping in its neighbourhood. Our casualties had been only twenty, the French fifteen. The enemy suffered considerably, and left upwards of eighty guns in our hands. During the action, the Tartar cavalry, having circled round our left flank, advanced towards the village of Woo-tsze-ying, thinking, no doubt, that our baggage would fall an easy prey; but our Commander-in-Chief had forestalled them, by having it all collected into one spot just before the action, and leaving a strong rear-guard with it. The enemy's force was estimated at about 20,000.

Although our action had been a brilliant one, and satisfactory in every way, as we had beaten such a large force with our insignificant numbers and taken or destroyed almost all their guns and material, yet a heavy gloom hung over most of us that evening, from the uncertainty connected with the fate of those in the enemy's hands. All knew the Chinese to be as cruel as they are false and treacherous; and many feared that the fact of

our victory that day would embitter them all the more strongly against their prisoners, and excite them, like truly ignoble barbarians, to seek for some consolation for their defeat, by torturing those who were helplessly in their hands. The missing party consisted of Captain Brabazon of the artillery, Lieutenant Anderson of Fane's Horse, Messrs. Parkes, Loch, De Norman and Bowlby (the "Times'" correspondent), seventeen picked sowars of Fane's Horse, one of Probyn's Horse, and Private Phipps of the King's Dragoon Guards.

Sir Hope Grant took up his quarters in Chang-kia-wan, from which nearly all the inhabitants had fled. That night, either by design on the part of the Chinese or some accident by our followers, the houses near the head-quarters took fire, and it was only by the great exertions of the engineers, and other troops turned out to aid them, that the fire was kept from spreading to all the buildings around.

As a punishment for the treachery of our enemies, Chang-kia-wan was given over to loot. It was a strange sight, for the two following days, to see the crowds of poor people from the surrounding villages pouring in from daybreak until dark for the purpose of sharing in the plunder. To them, the clothes and furniture, which, in the pawn-shops particularly, were stored in quantities, were of great value, although to our men they were of no use, as none had the means of carrying them. I did not hear, upon good authority, of any valuables having been found; but in one warehouse there were about five million pounds of brick tea, called so from its being prepared like compressed vegetables, in blocks resembling bricks. This, as also our cap-

tured guns, we were unable to remove from want of carriage.

Chang-kia-wan is a very old walled-in city, and was some two hundred years ago a place of great importance; but, judging from the ruinous condition of its walls, defences, and public buildings, its glory has long since departed. The greater portion of the inner space enclosed within the walls, is now laid out in vegetable gardens, or covered with the *débris* of streets which have ceased to exist except in name. To the east of the city there is a large suburb, consisting of well-built houses, and having a thriving air about it. This is the case with many Chinese cities that I have seen. The suburbs become of far more importance than the place itself, which dwindles away proportionally with the growth of its more modern rival. A branch from the Seaou-ho winds round the suburb, separating it from the city; a fine stone bridge, with quaintly-carved mouldings and balustrades, spanning the river between. This "Little River" flows from the "Wen-ho," which unites with the Peiho near Tien-tsin. The Chang-kia-wan branch was once navigable for boats of considerable size, and we were told that it was owing to the failing of the water, and its consequent unsuitableness for traffic, that the decline in the city was chiefly attributable. Around this faded city the country was highly cultivated, and thickly dotted over with well-built villages, and neatly-kept orchards and gardens. Groves of pine trees formed a remarkable feature in the landscape, and curious tombs of all sizes and grades in importance were scattered about in the most picturesque spots. There, as at Takoo and

Tien-tsin, the position of every grave was marked by a mound of earth, shaped like an inverted cauldron, with, in most instances, a round ball of earth on top, giving it a finished look. Many of these mounds were neatly plastered over with cement, and some were faced with brickwork. In shape some of them resemble the Burmese pagodas on a small scale. Millet and maize, beans and sweet potatoes, were the principal products of the country. The roads leading towards Tung-chow and Pekin were deep, hollow ways, so much below the general level of the country around, that in many places cavalry might march along them unperceived by people in the fields close by. In rainy weather these roads become small streams, and form the drainage of the country. Each succeeding year of course serves to wear them deeper. To cavalry and artillery in action, or even moving rapidly straight across country in any military manœuvre, they are a serious obstacle.

Within Chang-kia-wan, and several villages in its neighbourhood, were high marble tablets, covered with inscriptions, setting forth the virtues and amiable qualities of great men or virtuous wives. All these monuments rest upon colossal representations of the tortoise, which in China is the emblem of longevity, and is a favourite symbol with Chinamen. The most important of these marble tablets are protected by picturesquely constructed roofs raised above them, and supported by wooden pillars, generally coloured red. In some of these the yellow tiling denotes that they have either been erected by order of the Emperor, to commemorate the deeds of some public functionary,

or else to announce an Imperial mandate to be observed by the surrounding people.

Upon the 19th September, Mr. Wade went to Tung-chow under a flag of truce, carrying with him orders from the Commanders-in-Chief, desiring that all English and French subjects then prisoners should be returned forthwith, and threatening that in the event of any impediment being shown to their doing so, Pekin would be attacked and taken.

Mr. Wade succeeded in seeing the prefect of Tung-chow, who appeared upon the walls of that place. He said that Mr. Parkes had not returned to Tung-chow, after he had left it with the escort, and that he supposed he had gone to our army. The prefect seemed to dread an attack upon his city, but was assured, that if the inhabitants forbore from molesting us, that place would be spared.

Tung-chow was a large city; of its strength or capabilities of resistance we knew nothing. If it was strong and had a large garrison, we could not leave it untaken in our rear, and its assault would have delayed us materially. To procure its neutrality was of great moment to us, as it was there we intended establishing our depôts of stores coming up the river. It was, in fact, the port of Pekin; and it was at first hoped that the canal which we knew existed between those two places, might serve us as a means of communication between them. It was subsequently arranged that Tung-chow should be spared, the authorities there aiding us in procuring supplies, &c. &c.

As Mr. Wade was unable to gather any reliable information regarding our prisoners from the Tung-chow

prefect, he proceeded from thence in a westerly direction, and soon found himself in presence of the Chinese army, with which he in vain tried to communicate, as their outposts would not allow him to approach, and fired upon him several times when he endeavoured to do so. Lord Elgin joined our head-quarters on the afternoon of the 19th.

Upon the 20th September, a cavalry reconnaissance was made in the direction of the enemy's camp, the bulk of which was found to be in the neighbourhood of the Pa-le-cheaou (eight-li bridge). An intelligent Chinese soldier was taken prisoner, who informed us that Sang-ko-lin-sin was commanding in person. He stated that several foreigners had been taken to Pekin in carts upon the 18th.

At daybreak upon the 21st, we moved out of Chang-kia-wan, and formed up facing the enemy at about two miles' distance from the town. We were then joined by the French, whose strength had been increased to about 3000 men, by the arrival of General Collineau's brigade upon the previous evening. All our baggage was collected together and placed under a strong guard, in a village close by, our allies making the same arrangement for theirs. The plan of operations agreed upon by the Commanders-in-Chief was, that the French were to advance direct to the Pa-le-cheaou, which is a fine stone bridge over the canal running between Pekin and Tung-chow, whilst our force made for a wooden bridge about a mile nearer the capital. Our cavalry were at the same time to make a wide sweep to the left, so as to drive in the right flank of the enemy upon their centre, whose only lines of retreat would then be

over the canal by the Pa-le-cheaou and the wooden bridge near it, against which the allied forces of infantry and artillery were respectively advancing. They hoped thus to inflict considerable damage upon the enemy, whilst crowding across those two narrow bridges. As the French had been encamped in rear of Chang-kia-wan since the action of the 18th, we had to wait for some time for them; but upon their arrival the two armies advanced as had been previously arranged. When we had marched a mile, we found ourselves in presence of a large army, their cavalry stretching away to their right as far as we could see, and endeavouring to turn our left flank; their infantry strongly posted in the numerous clumps of trees and enclosures which lay between us and the canal. As soon as we came within range, they opened fire upon us from hundreds of jingalls and small field-pieces, to which our allies replied with their rifled cannon. Sir Hope Grant rode forward towards the French for the purpose of examining the position, and having advanced beyond our line of skirmishers, rode almost in amongst the Tartars, mistaking them for the moment for the French. Upon turning back to rejoin our troops, the Tartar cavalry, seeing him and his numerous staff cantering away from them, evidently thought it was some of our cavalry running away, and at once gave pursuit with loud yells. Stirling's 6-pounders, however, opened heavily upon them when they were about two hundred and fifty yards from our line, saluting them well with canister, which sent them to the right about as briskly as they had advanced. An infantry battalion close by was ordered by its brigadier to form square, and in that formation fired

volleys at the advancing enemy, without, I believe, killing a man of them. Our old soldiers, untrained in all the minutiæ of position and judging-distance drill, and armed with the much-abused old Brown Bess, could not certainly have done less damage. Upon more than one occasion during the war, the absurdity of imagining that an enemy can be destroyed by an infantry fire delivered at long ranges, or directed at troops not crowded together in deep formations, was made apparent to all except, perhaps, a few unpractical men, whose judgment was biassed by theories, and from whom no amount of actual illustration in the field could drive the opinions which they had formed upon the sands at Hythe. Upon one occasion I remember seeing a man get up from behind some cover where he had been concealed, about twenty yards from a line of our skirmishers, and get away safely over a smooth open field, although fired at by every man of ours near him, some having reloaded and fired a second time at him. The enemy's cavalry, having retreated out of range, re-formed, and seemed in no way disheartened, but kept on moving towards our left, round which flank they appeared determined to get. Our cavalry, which had been moving slowly forwards in that direction, upon arriving within charging distance, went straight at them, Fane's Horse and the King's Dragoon Guards in the first line, Probyn's regiment in support behind. The Tartar cavalry had halted behind a deep wide ditch, upon seeing our troops advancing towards them, from which position they delivered a volley as our cavalry reached it. The horses of the irregulars are always ridden in short standing martingales, which

effectually prevent their jumping well; so, when our line reached the ditch, but very few of the irregulars got over it at first, many of their horses, unable to pull up, tumbling in, one over the other. The King's Dragoon Guards, however, got well in amongst the Tartars, riding over ponies and men, and knocking both down together like so many ninepins. The irregulars were soon after them, and in the short pursuit which then ensued, the wild Pathans of Fane's Horse showed well fighting side by side with the powerful British dragoon. The result was most satisfactory. Riderless Tartar horses were to be seen galloping about in all directions, and the ground passed over in the charge was well strewn with the enemy. At no time subsequently during the day would they allow our cavalry to get sufficiently near for a second charge, and I have no doubt but that those who retreated in safety, carried back into the wilds of Tartary strange stories of our impetuosity in battle, and of the dreadful shock of British cavalry, before which they were unable to stand for an instant. Our artillery opened fire upon the retreating forces with good effect, firing slowly, every Armstrong shell bursting amongst them and bringing down the enemy in clumps.

Sir Hope Grant with the cavalry, three Armstrong guns, 99th Regiment, and Royal Marines moved in pursuit to our left, in which direction we found several camps. The ground was difficult in some places for cavalry and artillery, particularly as we approached Pekin, the roads having steep banks on either side, and the fields enclosed by deep wide ditches, some of which might be classed as fair hunting jumps. In one of the

captured camps we found eighteen guns, and in all the tents were standing. Of course we burnt and destroyed all we took. When the country people perceived that we were doing so, numbers of them turned out for the purpose of plundering the tents of the army which had fled; and it was a strange thing to see peasants coming out from these camps, staggering under the weight of captured clothing, cooking-pots, &c. &c., with which they were hurrying home, evidently dreading lest the Tartar soldiers should return before they had reached their respective villages. As we approached each camp, we could see the enemy streaming out from it, and only in one instance did they attempt any resistance. Our cavalry having approached an encampment which was closely surrounded with trees and broken ground, where they were of course powerless against the enemy's infantry, which opening a sharp fire, several of our men were wounded. When, however, our infantry and artillery came up, the enemy were quickly dislodged, and the 99th succeeded in bayonetting several. Our pursuit lasted to within about six miles of Pekin, horses and men being well tired and hungry. We halted there for an hour; and I shall never forget how truly acceptable some grapes were which we found in a village close by. The enemy having disappeared from our front and flank, we marched back, making for the wooden bridge over the canal where we rejoined the 2nd brigade. The French had advanced to the Pa-le-cheaou as agreed, taking all the camps which lay near that bridge, over which they drove the enemy, killing large numbers of them in its vicinity: a number were also drowned in their efforts to get across the

canal at points where there was no bridge. Whilst Colonel Mackenzie, our Quartermaster-General, was marking out the position for our camp, a fire was suddenly opened by the enemy from the north bank of the canal, to the south of which it had been arranged that we should encamp.

A party of the 15th Punjaub Infantry under Lieutenant Harris, the second in command of that corps, was immediately pushed across the river, supported by a wing of the 2nd Queen's. The Punjaubees advanced most dashingly, driving the enemy from a camp which stood near the canal and capturing the guns from which they had opened fire. The French encamped to our right, also upon the canal. Our baggage, which had been sent for when the pursuit ended, came up in the afternoon. I should imagine that almost every man in our army ate ducks for dinner that evening; for upon arriving at the canal it was crowded with fine large ducks, which so quickly disappeared, that the next morning, when going there to bathe, I could only see four remaining. These I have no doubt were captured before the day was over, and judging from the manner in which they were being hunted when I saw them, I should fancy they must have been tender indeed when placed upon the table.

Our loss in men during the day had been only two killed and twenty-nine wounded; our allies also, only suffered slightly.

CHAP. VII.

REMARKS UPON OUR POSITION AFTER THE ENGAGEMENT.—HALT AT PA-LE-CHEAOU.—ARRANGEMENTS FOR AN ADVANCE UPON PEKIN, AND ARRIVAL OF REINFORCEMENTS.—DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY, AND THE SPECIES OF TRANSPORT PECULIAR TO IT.—RENEWAL OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE PEKIN MINISTERS.—THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THEM AND LORD ELGIN.

Although we had in the space of three days gained two battles, our position at Pa-le-cheaou was far from satisfactory. Our force was very small, and unprovided with the material required for a siege. Our heavy guns were still on the river, and great difficulty was experienced in getting them over the shallows. To have marched direct upon Pekin the day after our fight of the 21st September, would have been a grand movement, had we have been in a position to enforce our threats of taking that city; but to have gone on idly swaggering about what we intended to do, unprovided with heavy guns for breaching purposes, would have placed us in a most false position, when under the very walls of the place. Non-combatants are at all times anxious to push on and make light of military precautions. After any successful operation, it is easy to speak of the facility with which it was accomplished, and, adducing the smallness of your losses in proof thereof, to remark, "Oh, you might have done it with half the

number," forgetting or ignoring the fact that the rapid success was very much to be attributed to the display of force, which ever carries with it great moral power in war, and that the precautions taken were the means of saving your soldiers' lives.

I have no doubt there are some who would have liked us to have pushed on to the gates of Pekin upon the 22nd, on the chance of bullying the Chinese into surrendering the city to us; but suppose they had not done so, what a degrading position we should have obtained for ourselves, whilst remaining inactive under the very walls, awaiting the arrival of reinforcements and the heavy guns, &c. &c., required for assaulting the place? Before leaving Ho-se-woo, it was unfortunately believed that all fighting was over, and that the Chinese Government was anxious for peace. Had it been otherwise, and the whole affair merely a military operation, we should never have left that place until our heavy guns, and all our available troops had reached it. As it was, relying upon the negotiations then pending, we had advanced with a small force, unprepared for a siege; so that when our diplomacy failed, we found ourselves in a false position, unable to take advantage of the success with which our movements had been attended.

On the 29th September the siege guns reached us, and by the 2nd October, all available troops from the rear had joined us, with the exception of the 1st Royals, which marched into camp upon the evening following, when we had crossed the canal. Sir R. Napier had been sent for after the fight of the 18th at Chang-kia-wan, and it was determined that no movement in ad-

vance should be effected until the arrival of his division and the heavy siege guns. The regiments advanced by double marches from Tien-tsin, and the following preparations were made for pushing forward. A battalion of marines was posted at Tung-chow, between which and Tien-tsin, regular flotillas of country boats were established. By means of these large quantities of commissariat supplies were collected at the former place as a reserve store, whilst enough for ten days' consumption was forwarded on from thence in carts and waggons to the front. A post of one hundred French infantry, and an officer and ten sowars was established at Chang-kia-wan for the protection of our mails and despatches sent by means of mounted orderlies. This was at first most necessary, as our rear was for some time infested with armed banditti, who frequently attacked small parties and fired upon our messengers. In one instance, two sowars, carrying letters, reported they had been fired upon five times between Matow and Chang-kia-wan; and another party had to cut their way through a crowd of armed villagers in the former place. To stop these annoyances, orders were sent back to Colonel Urquahart, then at Matow, directing him to burn that village, which was done by a party of the 8th Punjaub Infantry, and produced the effect desired. Proclamations were at the same time posted up there and at the neighbouring villages, informing the people that it was owing to their own misconduct that that punishment had been inflicted, and warning others of what they might expect in case they acted similarly.

A bridge of boats was established over the canal

opposite our camp, and a defensible position selected close by the paved road to Pekin, where it was determined to leave, under a strong guard, all our baggage, surplus ammunition, and siege material, whilst the allied armies advanced to attack Sang-ko-lin-sin's army, which was reported to be in position to the north of the city, and close to it. His army having been well beaten and driven off from the neighbourhood, the heavy guns were to be brought up and placed in battery beneath the walls, and breach them in the event of the Chinese still holding out.

Reconnoitring parties went out daily towards Pekin during our halt at Pa-le-cheaou, by which means a good knowledge of the country was obtained. Our cavalry was, indeed, of the utmost use to us throughout the whole campaign. Our allies being unprovided with that arm, and engaged in the same work with us, gave us a fair opportunity of judging as to its value. Some people seem to consider that the military inventions of modern times have so changed the principles of war that cavalry can be of no further use, and, in fact, regard its existence now merely in the same light with many other relics of past ages maintained through that influence of conservativism, which has more or less hold over the minds of all. The China campaign has taught us differently. Our two regiments and a half of cavalry there rendered most valuable service. With even that small force we were enabled to scour the country all round our camps to a great distance; and in action against an enemy, whose mounted force was considerable, they gave us the power of following up by rapid charges the effect produced at long ranges

by our Armstrong guns. In contending against an enemy similarly provided with a formidable artillery, its use would be all the more valuable, as by its rapidity in getting over the ground an onslaught might be effected upon the enemy's batteries, which would so employ them and distract their attention, that the infantry might have time for an advance in line without incurring that heavy loss inevitable if they themselves had commenced the attack. In our actions in the field, the Chinese suffered but very little from our infantry, our cavalry and artillery playing the principal parts, and inflicting almost all the loss which the enemy sustained.

During our halt at Pa-le-cheaou, reconnoitring parties went out almost daily, some of which advanced to within a few hundred yards of the Pekin walls, enabling the staff to acquire a knowledge of the surrounding country, and to glean much valuable information of Sang-ko-lin-sin's movements from the inhabitants. The people which they met with were civil and obliging, so that in a few days good markets were established, where fowls, vegetables, and fruit were obtainable at cheap rates. Tung-chow, which was about three miles to our right, was completely in our power, as a battalion held one of its gates. The civic authorities there thought it was their best policy to save their city by aiding and supplying us with provisions, &c. &c., in return for which we prevented any of our men or followers from entering the place.

Our Chinese coolies were with difficulty kept under restraint, being most lawless and cruel. The country people had the greatest dread of them, and feared their

approach ten times more than that of our soldiers. At night they frequently broke out of camp and prowled about into the neighbouring villages, plundering and frequently ill-using women. One of them, taken in the act, was tried and hanged before all the other coolies. One evening a party of them succeeded in entering Tung-chow, where they made a regular attack upon a pawnshop; but the citizens turned out and beat them off, killing four or five of them.

A fine road runs from Tung-chow to Pekin, passing along from the former place south of the canal as far as Pa-le-cheaou, where it crosses the canal by the fine stone bridge there, and runs along nearly parallel with it, until it reaches the capital at the Che-ho-mun. That road is paved with blocks of granite of about five feet long by eighteen inches wide and deep. At present its condition is very bad, many of the stones having sunk considerably, and those at the sides, where the road is raised, having fallen away. We found that our carts and waggons would not, in passing along it, stand the jar occasioned by its unevenness; so an unmetalled country road, which ran from Tung-chow to Pekin all the way along the north side of the canal, was chosen as our means of communication. It was at first hoped that we should have been able to use the canal for transporting our supplies from the Peiho; but upon examination it was found that there were six or seven regular weirs between its two extremities, which would have entailed as many transhipments,—the Chinese being ignorant of the use of locks, and that canal being unprovided with the long slips common upon the far-

famed Imperial Canal, up which the boats are hauled by manual labour. Upon our arrival at Pa-le-cheaou we found a considerable number of very large barges upon the canal, two of which were heavily laden with rice, which we seized for our own commissariat. This canal is called by the natives the Uliang-ho (grain-bearing river); there is scarcely any current through it, and its water is consequently of a dark yellow colour, covered along its edge with slimy-looking weeds. It is fed by the mountain streams which pass through the grounds of Yuen-ming-yuen, sweeping in their course round Pekin, to which they form the ditches. In former times much care was paid to the waterworks of the capital, the reservoirs and weirs of which were well built, displaying considerable ingenuity of construction; for years past, however, they have had no attention paid to them, and consequently have fallen into a ruinous condition,—the stone weirs having in some places disappeared altogether, and the supply of water being allowed to find its own way across the adjacent country. Since that time the Uliang-ho has been meagrely fed, and at the weirs, where there had evidently been, in days gone by a considerable overflow, there is now only a tiny trickling. The canal ends abruptly at Tung-chow, there being an intervening space of about a hundred and fifty yards between it and the Peiho. The surplus water from the canal flows into that river over a very fine weir, built of granite, fast falling into decay. The Peiho becomes two distinct rivers above Tung-chow, one branch passing close under its walls. It is there only twelve or fifteen yards in width; but below the

junction of the two streams it widens out to from thirty to fifty yards.

At Pa-le-cheaou we procured a considerable number of carts and mules; and had we driven the country about, we might have obtained any reasonable amount of them, but all coercion was avoided as much as possible, and money paid for those we took. The conveyances of the country are two-wheeled waggons and wheelbarrows: the former are of two sorts, one being a small covered-in cart with shafts, drawn by a mule or pony, or sometimes by two in tandem. The other is a much larger and more substantially built waggon, also with shafts, drawn by four mules or ponies, one being in the shafts, the other three abreast in front, the traces from which are fastened to the axle-tree. The harness is all made of strong rope made up of twisted untanned thongs. The mules we obtained were fine animals, in good condition, and well suited for transport purposes. The Chinese drivers had most complete power over them and managed them well, talking to them whilst yoking them in and starting them off, which was no easy matter. As the three leading animals were in no way fastened to each other, it was a matter of difficulty to get them to pull all at one moment in starting, and if one turned rusty he prevented the others from going on. It was a curious sight watching our English soldiers yoking them in and endeavouring to start them. The animals, unaccustomed to the Britishers' voice and mode of treatment, invariably hung back or dragged in different directions. To take a leader by the head was a sure signal for general action amongst

the entire team, each animal kicking and biting furiously at his next neighbour. I have often pitied the soldier left behind upon baggage guard, in charge of some such cart without a Chinese driver, when I have seen him making attempt after attempt to get his team in motion. I cannot imagine anything more trying to the temper than such an operation: having, after much difficulty, perhaps, induced all the animals to face in one direction — always a matter of serious labour — and when inwardly congratulating himself upon his success, thinking that all was right and that they were upon the point of all pulling together, he sees one of the beasts put his leg over the loose trace. To rectify this entails a fresh disarrangement of the whole team, and a fresh series of kicks, &c., from the mules, and hearty curses from the warrior. That same team, in charge of a Chinese driver, who would talk and chirrup in some peculiar manner to his beasts, would have been a mile upon its road in the same time that the soldier took in getting it fairly started. Once off, the sturdy mules and ponies draw it at a brisk pace, and all goes well until some obstacle necessitates a halt, when the same tiring process gone through at first starting has to be gone through afresh. The wheelbarrows are similar to those used in the south of China, being a sort of outside Irish jaunting car, with one wheel upon a small scale. They are driven by one man generally; but when the load carried is heavy, a second man is yoked in as a leader, in rope traces, joined in front by a wooden bar which fits across his chest. The country about our camp maintained the same features as in the neighbourhood of Chang-kia-wan,

being, however, more wooded, and dotted over more thickly with enclosed tombs of all sizes, some very large and imposing in appearance. Many were adorned with handsome marble monuments, and all those of any importance were surrounded by groves of trees, and neatly built brick walls. Pine trees, planted close together in long lines, enclosed those of the greatest pretensions, and formed an impassable fence for their protection. One of the largest and best kept burial-places was near the stone bridge, and close in rear of the French lines. The Tartar cavalry had encamped around it the evening before our fight of the 21st September, and a considerable number of them were killed there by the French artillery fire during the action. In front of it stood two high pillars of white marble, and a quaintly designed bridge over nothing, of the same material. These and the monuments in the enclosure were richly carved in a grotesque manner, and the entire space covered by the tombs was neatly laid out in paved walks and well-trimmed grass-plots. All the tombs of importance have dwelling-houses attached to them, in which those in charge of the place reside, and where the members of the deceased's family find quarters, during their annual visits to the spot for the purpose of sacrificing to the manes of their departed relations.

About Canton no ground is ever devoted to purposes of interment which is capable of producing crops, the bleak sides of hills or other barren spots being used as graveyards. There the dead are congregated together, whilst in the neighbourhood of Pekin the tombs are scattered indiscriminately about through the richest

farms, large spaces being given up to each, and in no instance is there any considerable number collected within any one enclosure. Every family has, seemingly, its own place of interment.

The weather continued very fine during our halt at Pa-le-cheaou. In August and the early part of September the heat at midday was very oppressive when exposed to the sun, but towards the latter end of September the temperature by day resembled that of an English summer, the nights being deliciously cool: towards October it was so cold at night that blankets and warm clothing were in great requisition. Whenever a northerly wind blew it was chilly even at noon, and in the early morning it was quite unpleasantly cold. We had one or two slight showers during our halt, which were most acceptable in laying the dust, which until then had been most disagreeable, covering everything, even within our tents, so that at any time during the day one could write his name upon the table. Penmanship under such circumstances was a matter of difficulty, the ink and pens becoming clogged with fine sand, which found its way into our very food, rendering one's camp fare disagreeable from the highly earthy flavour imparted to it.

The inhabitants, who fled from the surrounding villages during our action, returned gradually in small parties, as the few who had originally stood their ground had been well treated. Before we broke up our camp a considerable portion of the males had come back. They seemed puzzled to understand how it was that a nation, whom they had always been taught to

consider as barbarous and fierce, should evince any care for their protection.

Whilst we were awaiting the arrival of our siege guns and reinforcements, almost daily communications passed between the allied ambassadors and the Imperial Government. The first letter received was upon the 22nd September, from the Prince of Kung, the Emperor's brother, dated the day before, and written, I suppose, after the battle. It said, that as Tsai, Prince of I, and Muh, President of the Board of War, had failed in arranging matters with us satisfactorily, he, the Prince of Kung, had been appointed Imperial Commissioner with full powers to negotiate. As he was anxious to send in Hang-ki and Lou-wei-wan to our camp to discuss affairs, he requested the ambassadors to suspend hostilities temporarily, so that friendly relations might be established. Lord Elgin's answer informed his Imperial Highness that no arrangements could be entered upon, nor any suspension of hostilities allowed, until the English and French subjects, then prisoners with the Chinese, were sent back; and further, that should any hindrance be made to their return, the consequences would be most serious to the Imperial Government. A good opportunity was also afforded to the newly-appointed Commissioners of disowning all complication in the capture of those who were missing, by an order which Lord Elgin forwarded to the Prince of Kung, with his answer, directing all her Britannic Majesty's subjects then in Pekin, to return at once to our camp, and instructing them at the same time to warn any of the Chinese authorities, who might oppose their departure, of the danger which they incurred in doing so.

That our ambassador should refrain from violent language in declaiming against the treacherous capture of the prisoners, and appear inclined to overlook it, provided they were at once sent back, and to view it rather as an error committed by subordinates, was so essentially Chinese in its conception, that very probably, had all those captured upon the 18th instant been then in Pekin, or within the new Commissioner's immediate jurisdiction, he would have availed himself of the opportunity of fixing the crime upon some military inferiors, by disclaiming any participation in it, and by returning the prisoners. Such a line of conduct would have been in accordance with their traditional policy. It is to be remarked that in the Prince of Kung's letter, there was no mention of the prisoners made by the Tartar army, nor do I believe that he or other members of the Government attached much importance to them, or thought that we should do so either, until, of course, Lord Elgin's answer reached Pekin.

On the 23rd September another flag of truce came in to our camp, with a letter from the Prince of Kung, in which with more ingenuity than success he attempted to prove that our people, then in Pekin, had been captured owing to their own want of temper, which brought them into collision with some Chinese troops; that they were then in good health, having received no serious bodily harm; but as peace was still unconcluded and the Takoo forts and Tien-tsin still in our possession, it could not be expected that our prisoners should be returned until we evacuated the country. "What occasion is there for alarm about a few British subjects

who may be missing?" If we restored the positions which we had captured from the Chinese, they would be sent back upon the withdrawal of our troops from the country. A statement of the circumstances under which the prisoners had been made, as far as we knew them, was returned in answer by Lord Elgin, who stated that the Prince of Kung must have been deceived, if he had been otherwise informed. This gave his Imperial Highness another loophole to retreat through with Chinese respectability: he might have pretended that he had been misinformed, and behead half-a-dozen petty officials to sustain the untruth. The first application for the return of our prisoners having failed, a higher tone was adopted in the second, and the treachery of taking our people prisoners whilst under a flag of truce was denounced in strong terms. That several of our people should be prisoners in the hands of a nation celebrated for cruelty, was a regular millstone around the necks of the Commanders-in-Chief. All were eager to avenge their capture, yet wished to postpone the commencement of operations in hopes of obtaining their release, and fearing lest the assault of Pekin should be the signal for their massacre. As the prisoners had been taken when employed upon diplomatic duty, our ambassador was naturally all the more anxious for their safety; and yet a due regard to public duty prevented him from seeking their surrender by conceding one whit of the original demands made to Kweiliang at Tien-tsin. To have ignored them altogether, would have been not only inhuman, but have allowed an idea to spread abroad in China, that the lives of such a small party of our countrymen was a matter of little moment to

us, — an impression that might entail serious consequences hereafter at the various ports of the empire, where the moral influence of our nation is the main stay upon which individuals must ever principally depend for protection. To have conceded the most insignificant clause of our original demands, in exchange for the return of our prisoners, would have been a most dangerous precedent in any future war with China, by showing the Imperial rulers the advantages open to them at such times from the kidnapping of Englishmen. The course adopted was a wise one. Lord Elgin refused to recognise Mr. Parkes and his party as prisoners of war taken in battle; all through his subsequent negotiations he spoke of them as persons kidnapped under the most treacherous circumstances, in defiance of all international law and the customs of war. He made their surrender a *sine quâ non*, before he would even suspend hostilities. The Prince of Kung, on the other hand, endeavoured to negotiate for their release, making it contingent upon the withdrawal of our army.

In Lord Elgin's answer to the Prince of Kung's letter of the 23rd September, he held out a threat of condign punishment in the event of any injury happening to the prisoners, or of his refusal to send them back. To do so in decided terms was no easy matter, as, from the general rumours we had heard, it was tolerably certain that the statement of their being all well was untrue, and common sense told us that if a *mêlée* had really occurred when the prisoners were taken (as stated in the Prince of Kung's letter), that the officers and men of Mr. Parkes's escort were not likely to be

all taken alive. Therefore, if some had been killed, it would not do to declare finally that no peace would be made until all had been returned, lest such might drive the Imperial Government to despair, and induce them to fight to the last. To conclude peace as rapidly as possible was of great importance; and as but one more month of fine weather remained for military operations, a protracted struggle was of all things to be avoided. Such must have entailed upon us great additional expense, and perhaps loss of life, and could only end by the overthrow of the ruling dynasty, which was not our policy. Our object was, not to weaken the Imperial Government, but to show China how immeasurably stronger and greater in war we were. On the supposition that the Prince of Kung really considered the capture of Mr. Parkes and party as a minor matter, and did not deem them of sufficient importance to be treated for specifically, he would still be naturally disinclined to send back those who then survived until peace had been signed. He knew that all the prisoners had been barbarously used, and would consequently conclude that, if their tale of woe was known to us before peace had been signed, we should base further demands in the way of indemnification or concessions upon that ground. All along, during the negotiations entered upon subsequent to our departure from Tien-tsin, the Imperial Government appears to have thought that we had some hitherto concealed demands, which we intended to bring forward at the last moment, and that we were only too anxious to have some plausible excuse for doing so. If in our ambassador's letters to the Prince of Kung it was positively stated

that, unless all the prisoners were returned, the reigning dynasty would be overthrown by us, the Imperial Commissioners might argue "that, as some have been already killed, we cannot by resisting to the last and trusting to the chance of war, suffer more than the barbarians have announced that they will impose upon us, if we fail to return all the prisoners, which is now out of our power." We should consequently gain nothing by such a definite threat.

All these considerations had to be weighed carefully before an answer was returned to the Prince of Kung's letter.

Lord Elgin's letter was a masterpiece of its kind, commencing, as I have before stated, by a statement of facts in connection with Mr. Parkes's capture, and winding up in the form of an ultimatum setting forth the terms upon which he would make peace. The terms were, that if, within three days from the date of writing, the British and French subjects detained in Pekin were sent back, and if the Prince of Kung would consent to sign the convention handed to Kweiliang at Tien-tsin, our army would not advance beyond Pa-le-cheaou. Should those conditions be rejected, the allied armies would advance upon Pekin, a movement which would probably cause the destruction of the Mantchoo dynasty. It was intimated that these conditions were final, and only made from the sincere desire for peace entertained by Lord Elgin, in order to give the Commissioners one further opportunity of averting the destruction of their capital.

The Prince of Kung replied to this despatch on the 27th September, and evaded giving any positive

answer. His policy seems to have been most vacillating. It must have been apparent to him, and to all who acted with him, that, in a military point of view, they were totally unable to contend against us. Much as they might boast of their vast Tartar armies and the Mongol hoards ready to pour down upon us from beyond the Great Wall under their forty-eight princes, yet, after their several defeats in battles fought by them under the most favourable circumstances, their inability to contend against us must have been well known to them.

An apathy seems to have seized upon the Chinese Government. The passive and mulish obstructiveness, for which it has long been celebrated, will not account for their want of decision at that most critical moment. No man seemed to have the determination requisite for saving his country, and by which alone the impending blow might be averted. All lacked the moral courage to confess their weakness before the world. Obstinate pride, or the dread of future punishment, had taken possession of them, and prevented them from acting.

The Prince of Kung's answer was most curious. Like a true Asiatic he seemed to have acquired a gleam of hope from the fact of some time being given him for decision. Even that trifling concession was construed, by an Eastern train of thought, into an indication of weakness or want of confidence upon our parts; and he consequently considered himself entitled to talk somewhat bigger than he had done in any of his previous despatches. He asserted that he had had nothing to do in any way with the capture of the Europeans. It was solely an act of the late Commis-

sioners; and when the fact of their being bound and in prison came to his notice, he ordered them to be well cared for and their wounds attended to. He could not, however, send them back or even appoint deputies for the arrangement of preliminaries with us, until the allied armies had retreated to Chang-kia-wan. The proximity of our troops to Pekin had already considerably disturbed the people's minds there; and in the event of any attack being made upon the city by us, he feared it would be difficult to ensure the safety of the prisoners; but he promised that when peace was signed and our armies withdrawn, he would send back Mr. Parkes and party with all honour.

Strange to say the Prince of Kung in his letter to Baron Gros, of the same date, was not so courteous, and wrote in a far more decided manner, intimating that if the French army advanced upon Pekin, all of that nation who might then be prisoners in the capital would be put to death.

As the time granted to the Imperial Commissioners for deciding upon their line of conduct drew to a close, they evidently became frightened at their own temerity, and wrote to Lord Elgin in the most apologetical strain, saying that our interpreters must have misunderstood the meaning of their letters; that they were ready and willing to sign the convention; but that, in the existing state of excitement amongst the Pekin people, it was impossible to send the prisoners back. A hint was also thrown out that Mr. Parkes should be used as a negotiator between them. A letter from him, written in Chinese, was forwarded to Lord Elgin at the same time, stating that, at the request of the Chinese

authorities, he begged to intimate their wish of opening negotiations, &c. &c. A private note asking for clothes for himself and Mr. Loch, also accompanied it, upon the margin of which the latter gentleman had written in Hindostani that the letter was written "by order;" or, in other words, that all that they had written was to be taken *cum grano*. This was the first intimation we had had of Messrs. Loch and Parkes being together.

Upon some of the clothes sent to them, we had written around the name marked on them, "In three days we shall commence hostilities again," and, "What is the name of the place in which you are confined?" These sentences were in Hindostani also, so that if noticed, they should be unintelligible to the Chinese, but would be understood by Mr. Loch, who knew that language.

By the next letter received from them we learnt that they were lodged in the Kaou-meaou Temple, near the Teh-shun gate.

Before advancing upon Pekin from the Pa-le-cheaou, deputations from the merchants of the Chinese city, came into our camp, bringing presents of fruit and vegetables, and promising that we should be furnished with all the supplies we required, provided we spared that part of Pekin.

Upon the 3rd October, as no satisfactory answer had been returned to our ultimatum, and all the expected reinforcements and heavy guns had arrived, we broke up camp at Pa-le-cheaou, and crossed the canal by the bridge of boats which we had prepared for the purpose, and encamped *à cheval* upon the paved road

leading to Pekin. Head-quarters were established in the Mahomedan village of Chang-chia-ying.

The house occupied by the Commander-in-Chief was a mosque, in which it was curious to see how the architecture peculiar to the Prophet's religion was mingled with that used in Buddhistic structures. The inscriptions upon the walls and within the building were in Arabic, not Persian, characters. Although the latter is used by all Mussulmen in India, the followers of that religion in China know nothing of it. Close by that village was the large enclosed tomb which had been previously selected as the position for our depôt, which, it had been arranged, should be established before we advanced finally upon the capital. It was well suited for the purpose required, being easily capable of defence, and, from its size, well suited for parking therein all our siege train, baggage, &c., which was to be left behind until Sang-ko-lin-sin's army had been driven from the field. Commissariat supplies sufficient for all our troops up to the 20th October had been collected, and were stored at this depôt.

It was arranged between the Commanders-in-Chief, that the allied force was to advance upon the 4th October; but as a large French convoy, which had been expected to arrive on the 3rd, did not make its appearance until the day after, the movement was postponed until the 5th October.

Up to the time of marching, begging letters kept coming in daily from the Prince of Kung, sometimes two in one day: all were concocted in a half-cunning, half-frightened tone. He evidently dreaded our advancing above all things. He felt his inability to pre-

vent it, and yet lacked moral courage enough to adopt the only course by which he could avert such a national calamity.

The absolute necessity of conceding all our demands, must have been evident to the dullest of the Chinese Ministers. There was a shilly-shallying about all the later despatches, for which, in any other country under similar circumstances, it would have been impossible to account. Not so, however, in China, with an absolute monarch, who had left his capital and retired to such a distance from the theatre of operations that all reference to him involved the loss of several days, and from whom it was impossible to obtain any more definite instructions than the vague order "to keep the barbarians at a distance." His Majesty contented himself with announcing the object desired, but cunningly forbore from entering into any detail of the method by which such was to be effected. By such conduct he reserved to himself at all times the right of beheading his Ministers for the policy they had pursued, even though they had succeeded through it in attaining the object desired. Success does not always secure the Chinese statesman from censure. His Imperial Majesty is capable, at any moment, of sacrificing his faithful agents, in order to give a plausibility to some statement which he wished to be believed. Thus Kweiliang was disgraced for not finally settling matters with us at Tien-tsin, although it was never intended by the Government that he should do so. It was deemed necessary to give those mock negotiations the semblance of intentional

reality, and so an old and faithful public servant was degraded, apparently, without the least compunction.

With the dread of death or disgrace before a minister, in case of failure, or even of a success which does not exactly dovetail in with his master's whims or pride, it is not surprising that all Chinese political officers should hesitate before they arrive at any decision in dealing with foreigners.

If the Chinese deputy concedes too little, negotiations will be broken off, and his degradation follow most certainly; whilst, if he concedes too much, his life will be in jeopardy for daring to "sacrifice national honour."

The Prince of Kung found himself thus unfortunately situated, and his vacillation was the consequence.

CHAP. VIII.

ADVANCE OF THE ALLIED ARMIES FROM PA-LE-CHEAOU. — ARRIVAL BEFORE PEKIN. — DESCRIPTION OF THE LHAMA TEMPLES NEAR OUR CAMP THERE. — PLUNDER OF THE SUMMER PALACE BY THE FRENCH ARMY. — DESCRIPTION OF YUEN-MING-YUEN. — DISTRIBUTION OF PRIZE-MONEY TO THE BRITISH ARMY. — PUBLIC AUCTION OF ALL ARTICLES TAKEN BY OFFICERS FROM THE PALACES.

Upon the morning of the 5th October we advanced in a line of contiguous columns, and halted at a strong position to the north-east of Pekin, which had been previously reconnoitred, and where plenty of water was procurable for our cavalry. The French moved to our left, but as on the previous day they had been encamped some distance to our rear, their march was much longer than ours. When, therefore, we had advanced between four and five miles, our allies would not go any further, and both armies halted for the night. As all our tents and baggage had been left behind, the men bivouacked. Each regiment had been allowed to take one small cart with it for the officers' mess, and the men carried three days' cooked rations with them. As with a small army acting against an enemy strong in cavalry, it is impossible to fight and at the same time protect a large amount of baggage in the open field, our impedimenta had been reduced to the very smallest quantity compatible

with efficiency. There was plenty of the long millet straw stocked about in the fields; so, although the nights were sharply cold, the men easily made themselves comfortable. A cavalry reconnaissance was made in the evening, which beat up the Tartar camp without compromising our party. The country became much closer as we approached Pekin, and was greatly cut up by brick-fields, and by the large excavations belonging to them.

Enclosed tombs, hollow roads, and small gardens were dotted about everywhere, and clumps of trees bounded the view upon every side, so that no clear view of the country to any distance could be obtained. Close by the ground where we had halted for the night stood some very high brick-kilns, enclosed by substantial walls, protected without by deep ponds, which rendered the place very strong. A small guard was left behind there when we advanced upon the 6th, for the purpose of keeping open our communication with the depôt in rear, and at the same time of taking charge of all the men's knapsacks, which it was determined to leave behind there, so that our troops might be able to go through a long march upon the day following.

Upon the 6th October the armies were again in motion, advancing along the route which our cavalry had examined the previous evening. Upon reaching the furthest point that our reconnoitring party had thus far reached, and where the enemy's cavalry had shown in great force, we found that they had retreated, leaving behind a few pickets. The advanced videttes of these pickets were to be seen dodging about now and then through the trees to our front and flanks.

They however took good care that none of us should approach too near them, as they invariably galloped off when any one tried to do so.

We halted for breakfast, and the Commanders-in-Chief arranged their plans for moving forward. A good view of the surrounding country was obtained from some high brick-kilns close by, and we could see the north-east angle of the old line of earthen ramparts, which enclose so large a space immediately to the north of the Tartar city. Upon that space all our informants had told us that Sang-ko-lin-sin was encamped with his vast army, and we could discern small parties of soldiers watching our movements from the highest points of the old entrenchments. These ruined works were from forty to fifty feet high, having evidently had formerly a formidable ditch around them. It has now completely disappeared in some places, and is laid out in cabbage gardens at others, having gently sloping sides at all points. The country people about informed us that the large force of cavalry, seen upon the previous evening, had retreated as soon as our reconnoitring party had disappeared. Some said they had fallen back upon the main army encamped upon the Tartar parade-ground within the entrenchment, whilst others boldly asserted that all had marched direct for Tartary. From the high kilns, near which we breakfasted, we could see several of the gates of Pekin and the towers and minarets of the Imperial palaces. Breakfast over, we again advanced, the English moving on the right, and making a slight detour so as to attack the line of ruined earthen ramparts upon their northern face, whilst the French, moving direct to the left,

entered them at the salient angle. Our cavalry at the same time moved away to the extreme right, with orders to make a wide sweep in that direction and take up a position upon the main road which led out from the Teh-shun gate northwards towards Jeho, and along which the enemy would naturally endeavour to retreat, when driven from their position upon the parade-ground.

Having advanced about three miles without encountering any resistance, or seeing more than some few small parties of the enemy's cavalry, who kept hovering about to watch our movements, our skirmishers, who had reached the earthen embankment, reported that no camp was visible from it. The country people about informed us that Sang-ko-lin-sin had retreated with all his force. The French were not then in sight, having become entangled in the difficult country which lay between them and their intended point of attack. A message was sent to General Montauban informing him that the enemy had retreated, and that Sir Hope Grant intended pushing on for Yuen-ming-yuen, to which place the Tartar army was said to have gone.

Almost immediately after the despatch of that message our advanced guard came upon what seemed to be a large force of the enemy's cavalry, who seemed inclined to fight. The country was so very close that it was some time before we could bring our troops into line, and our advance was consequently slow. The enemy fell back before us, exchanging a few shots with our skirmishers. We soon found ourselves upon the main road, leading northwards from the An-ting gate, upon which we came in sight of a considerable cavalry force. Some skirmishing amongst the small villages close to the

road ensued, and a few of the enemy were killed; but from the dense nature of the country, it was necessary to move with caution, and it was for a long time uncertain whether we were in presence of an army or of a detachment only.

Our allies had disappeared altogether; and, as evening was approaching, Sir Hope Grant determined upon halting there for the night, and sending out patrols the next morning to ascertain the exact position of our cavalry and that of our allies. We bivouacked around a large Lhama temple, situated just within the old line of fortifications, which I have before mentioned, and close by the Tartar parade-ground, upon which Sang-ko-lin-sin's army had been encamped. A small village afforded shelter for a large portion of our men, and the head-quarters took possession of one of the temples, of which there were several very large ones about. Some of them had monastic establishments attached to them, and in one there was a most beautifully executed monument of white marble, shaped liked a Burmese pagoda and nearly thirty feet high. Its top was highly gilt and its base richly carved. It stood in the centre of a courtyard, surrounded by temples and other monastic buildings, such as the refectories and dormitories of the priests belonging to the establishment. Numerous inscriptions were upon the monuments about, all in the Tibetian character, which bears so close a resemblance to Sanscrit, that upon first seeing it at Poo-too I thought it a badly executed imitation of that most ancient writing. Many letters in both languages are exactly similar, and in both the vowels are mostly represented by curved dashes above the consonants which

precede them. The architecture of these Lhama temples is exactly similar to that used in the construction of all public buildings in China, from which they are alone distinguishable by the difference of the character used in the inscriptions. The images of deities within these temples are, like all others in the country, made of clay, but in design they are far more revolting in appearance than those worshipped by ordinary Chinese Buddhists. Lust and sensuality is represented in its hideous nakedness and under its most disgusting aspect. The priests when exhibiting these beastly groups did so with the greatest apparent satisfaction, and seemed to gloat over the abominations before them, which to any one but those of the most bestial dispositions must have been loathsome in the extreme. Surely, it cannot be wondered at, that a people who thus deify lust, should be base and depraved, and incapable of any noble feelings or lofty aspirations after either the good or great. The Lhama priests in and about Pekin all come from Tartary; they dress in bright yellow garments and shave their heads. They and their establishments are under the immediate patronage of his Majesty, and almost all their temples near the capital have been erected at the Imperial expense. The most important of them had been built as a residence for the Grand Lhama's envoy during his annual visit to the Celestial court. It has always been the Mantchoo policy, more particularly since their general decline in power, to conciliate the wild tribes ruled over by the Lhamas, by showing partiality and favour to all the followers of that religion residing in China Proper. In reality his Majesty possesses but little actual power in those northern

regions beyond the Great Wall, but by a judicious exercise of condescension and a certain undefined assumption of authority, he is able to maintain a nominal sovereignty over those countries, and succeeds in having his supremacy recognised by the annual visit of a deputy from the Grand Lhama bringing some trifling tribute. It was curious to watch these Lhama priests engaged at their devotion, repeating their prayers in a sing-song sort of voice, without in the least seeming to enter into the spirit of their meaning, and apparently believing that their efficacy mainly depended upon frequent repetition. In order to accomplish the rehearsal of the same prayer over and over again as quickly as possible and with the smallest amount of trouble to the suppliant, some indolent but ingenious devotee invented long ago a machine which is now generally used in all Lhama temples. It consists of a brazen cylinder made to revolve upon an iron axle fitted with a crank for giving it great rapidity of movement. Upon the outer surface of this cylinder the prayers are marked in raised characters, and every time that it makes one revolution the same effect is supposed to be attained, as if it had been repeated by word of mouth. Whilst the priest is engaged in turning it round and round, he repeats the prayer aloud, and keeps account of the revolutions made by the cylinder. Prayers with the lips only, and not proceeding from the mind, we are told, avail nothing ; but what would all our pastors say to those done for us by machinery? In Europe we have instruments for all sorts of curious purposes, from sewing trowsers up to calculating decimal fractions ; but no one there has ever

yet dreamt of carrying the substitution of machinery for mental or bodily labour to such an extent as to take out a patent for a praying machine. Let me recommend the idea to my Roman Catholic friends as a good one to get through any number of penitential "Aves" at a brisk pace, and with comparative ease to themselves.

In the temple occupied by our head-quarters there was a representation of a semi-human monster riding upon a tiger. In his mouth was the body of a man, which he was supposed to be in the act of crunching beneath his shark-like teeth. To a collar fastened round his neck strings of human heads were fastened, the bodies of which he was supposed to have previously devoured, keeping their skulls as trophies of his large appetite. This man-eating deity was highly esteemed, and was kept most carefully covered from the vulgar gaze by a painted drop curtain, upon which were depicted, apparently, the pickings and leavings of the cannibal god: legs, arms, and dissected trunks were represented upon it, with an intention of striking terror into the beholder. Scattered about in odd corners, and exhibited prominently upon incense tables, were bowls and cups made from human skulls; small drums were also constructed with them. There were also very curious gongs and large white shells, converted into trumpets by having mouth-pieces fitted to them. These and bronze vessels of all shapes and sizes covered the altars of the gods. Boxes containing books written in the Tibetian language, were piled up on either side of the principal building as you entered, each case being duly labelled with the names of its contents. These

books were unbound, each leaf being separate, but kept in its place by two long boards, between which the detached leaves were pressed tightly together by strings passing round outside. They were all seemingly in manuscript, and executed in red, blue, black, and golden letters, with numerous illuminations, giving each sheet a peculiar and pretty effect. A large proportion of these books were done in white letters upon a black ground-work, every page containing a picture of the sitting Buddha. Unlike Chinese works, in which the paper is of the thinnest description, these books were made of paper like cardboard of the thickest sort. The various courtyards around these temples are nicely paved or flagged, with small spaces left here and there for trees, the branching foliage of which provides a cool shelter for the lazy priests, who pass much of their time in warm weather beneath their shade. The trees are mostly pine and cedars. Leading off from the principal courtyards there are always numerous little squares surrounded by houses, in which priests and others connected with the establishment reside. The houses were mostly very comfortable within, and well furnished, proving that the monks do not forget creature enjoyments in their sacred service.

Upon the 7th October, at daybreak, we fired twenty-one guns from the high earthen ramparts, near which we had halted the evening before, and upon which we had kept large fires burning during the night. These measures were adopted for the purpose of intimating to our cavalry and the French the position we had taken up. A cavalry patrol, under an officer of the Quarter-Master-General's department, started, as soon as it

became light, with orders to ascertain their position and communicate with the French, who were found to be at the Summer Palace, our cavalry being about two miles to their right. Sir Hope Grant, accompanied by Lord Elgin, rode thither in the course of the day for the purpose of seeing General Montauban, who said that as soon as he learnt Sir Hope Grant's intention of marching upon Yuen-ming-yuen, he also made for that place, and fell in with our cavalry during his march, when both proceeded together until they reached the large village of Hai-teen, which is situated close by the palace. Our cavalry brigadier, naturally disliking the idea of getting his men entangled in a town of which he knew nothing, skirted it to the eastward, whilst the French proceeded direct through it and reached the palace gates. About twenty badly-armed eunuchs made some pretence at resistance, but were quickly disposed of, and the doors burst open, disclosing the sacred precincts of his Majesty's residence, to what a Chinaman would call the sacrilegious gaze of the barbarians. A mine of wealth and of everything curious in the empire lay as a prey before our French allies. Rooms filled with articles of vertu both native and European, halls containing vases and jars of immense value, and houses stored with silks, satins, and embroidery, were open to them. Indiscriminate plunder and wanton destruction of all articles too heavy for removal commenced at once. Guards were placed about in various directions; but to no purpose. When looting is once commenced by an army it is no easy matter to stop it. At such times human nature breaks down the ordinary trammels which discipline imposes, and the consequences

are most demoralising to the very best constituted army. Soldiers are nothing more than grown-up schoolboys. The wild moments of enjoyment passed in the pillage of a place live long in a soldier's memory. Although, perhaps, they did not gain sixpence by it, still they talk of such for years afterwards with pleasure. Such a time forms so marked a contrast with the ordinary routine of existence passed under the tight hand of discipline, that it becomes a remarkable event in life and is remembered accordingly. I have often watched soldiers after the capture of a place, wandering in parties of threes or fours through old ranges of buildings, in which the most sanguine even could scarcely hope to find anything worth having; yet every one of them bore about them that air of enjoyment which is unmistakeable. Watch them approach a closed door; it is too much trouble to try the latch or handle, so Jack kicks it open. They enter, some one turns over a table, out of which tumbles perhaps some curious manuscripts. To the soldier these are simply waste paper, so he lights his pipe with them. Another happens to look round and sees his face represented in a mirror, which he at once resents as an insult by shying a footstool at it, whilst Bill, fancying that the "old gentleman" in the fine picture-frame upon the wall is making faces at him, rips up the canvas with his bayonet. Some fine statue of Venus is at once adorned with a moustache, and then used as an "Aunt Sally." Cock-shots are taken at all remarkable objects, which, whilst occupying their intended positions, seem somehow or other to offend the veteran's eye, which dislikes the *in statu quo* of life, and studies the pic-

turesque somewhat after the manner that Colonel Jebb recommends to all country gentlemen who are desirous of converting their mansions into defensible posts. The love of destruction is certainly inherent in man, and the more strictly men are prevented from indulging in it, so much the more keenly do they appear to relish it when an opportunity occurs. Such an explanation will alone satisfactorily account for the ruin and destruction of property, which follows so quickly after the capture of any place; tables and chairs hurled from the windows, clocks smashed upon the pavement, and everything not breakable so injured as to be valueless henceforth.

Soldiers of every nation under heaven have peculiarities common to all of the trade, and the amusements which I have just described are amongst them. The French most certainly are no exception to the rule. If the reader will imagine some three thousand men, imbued with such principles, let loose into a city composed only of Museums and Wardour Streets, he may have some faint idea of what Yuen-ming-yuen looked like after it had been about twenty hours in possession of the French. The far-famed palaces of a line of monarchs claiming a celestial relationship, and in which the ambassador of an English king had been insulted with impunity, were littered with the *débris* of all that was highly prized in China. Topsy-turvy is the only expression in our language which at all describes its state. The ground around the French camp was covered with silks and clothing of all kinds, whilst the men ran hither and thither in search of further plunder, most of them, according to the prac-

tice usual with soldiers upon such occasions, being decked out in the most ridiculous-looking costumes they could find, of which there was no lack as the well-stocked wardrobes of his Imperial Majesty abounded in curious raiment. Some had dressed themselves in the richly-embroidered gowns of women, and almost all had substituted the turned-up Mandarin hat for their ordinary forage cap. Officers and men seemed to have been seized with a temporary insanity; in body and soul they were absorbed in one pursuit, which was plunder, plunder. I stood by whilst one of the regiments was supposed to be parading; but although their fall in was sounded over and over again, I do not believe there was an average of ten men a company present. Plundering in this way bears its most evil fruit in an army; for if, when it is once commenced an effort is made to stop it, the good men only obey; the bad soldiers continue to plunder, and become rich by their disobedience, whilst the good ones see that the immediate effect of their steadiness is to keep them poor. I do not believe that it is attended with such demoralising effects in a French army as it is in ours. The Frenchman is naturally a more thrifty being than the careless Britisher, who squanders his money in drinking, and "standing drink" to his comrades. Three days afterwards when the French moved into their position before Pekin, they seemed to have regained their discipline, and their men were as steady under arms as if nothing had occurred to disturb the ordinary routine of their lives.

A paved road runs from the north-west gate of Pekin to Hai-teen; and as his Majesty has frequent

occasion to travel upon it, the "Board of Works" keep it in good order, the pavement being laid down with great regularity and nicety, whilst the chaussée between Tung-chow and the capital, along which the "Sun's Brother" never passes, is allowed to fall into decay, so as to be quite useless as a carriage road. In going from our camp near the Tartar parade-ground to the Summer Palace, the route lay along an ordinary country road, which led out through the western face of the high earthen entrenchments by a deep cutting in them, where there had formerly been some defensive works protecting the entrance. These are now in ruins, and their original tracing scarcely perceptible. A picturesque-looking tablet tower still stands upon one side of the entrance, and is perched upon the highest point of the entrenchment, so that a good view is obtainable from it. Passing out through this opening, and proceeding nearly due west for about a mile, you reach a well-made road, constructed after the most approved method, being slightly raised in the centre and having good drains upon either side. Were it not that it is unmetalled, one might fancy it an English thoroughfare. It is the only one of the sort I have ever seen in China. It leads from the Sze-chi-mun to Hai-teen, where it strikes in upon the paved road. Continuing through that town and debouching from it towards the north, the road passes through the parks and gardens belonging to the many smaller houses which surround the Imperial residence. At the distance of about half a mile, the road passes over a small stream by a handsome bridge with richly-carved parapet walls, surmounted by grotesquely designed

figures. Beyond it is the broad road, running parallel with the little river, which sweeps round the southern face of the park, within which stand the summer palaces of Yuen-ming-yuen. The park is of considerable extent, and is enclosed upon all sides by a high wall substantially built of granite, but not meant for defence. At about the distance of every quarter of a mile stands a good-sized guard-house, in which the faithful Tartar watchmen kept guard both day and night over the person and property of their Celestial master. Scattered about in all directions were the residences of Government officials and his Majesty's relatives, each having walled-in inclosures around them. Immediately within every park wall there was a high earthen embankment, thickly planted with pine and cedar trees, which effectually screened the wall from view upon the inside, giving the place a secluded air.

There are two entrances to the Imperial residence; one eastward, the other westward of the bridge. The former was in every respect like the entrances to all Yamuns throughout the empire, but on a grander scale. There was the usual screen wall in front of the door, coloured deep red, with a coping of yellow tiles on top, adorned here and there with long-tailed dragons. In front was a large square, partially enclosed with *chevaux-de-frise*, made for show only and much of the same fashion as those which one sees produced upon the stage in representations of fortified castles made of cardboard, which look so imposing to the theatre-loving cockney. There are several pretty granite bridges over the little river, which trickled along its pebbly bed in front of the entrance. Altogether there

was nothing striking about the place. If, however, you turned westward and made for the other entrance, the effect was very different. The road ran alongside the river, over which well-designed bridges led here and there to houses or gardens upon its opposite bank. Lofty trees, whose gracefully-drooping branches almost touched the water, stood along the edge, and were reflected in the running stream below them. On the right of the road was the high park wall of the palace, which, continuing for some distance in a straight line, turned then sharp to the right, disclosing an open expanse of water, through which the road was carried along a raised causeway, edged upon both sides by rows of trees. These ponds are of artificial construction, and supplied with water by the stream, which, coming from the hills, passes, as I have already described, along the southern face of the palace gardens. Quantities of water lilies and lotus flowers covered the edges of these pretty reservoirs. At the further end of the causeway stood a fine joss-house, well shaded from the sun by lofty trees, which towered high above the mandarine poles in front of the building. General the Baron Jamin had fixed his head-quarters there; the main body of the French army, and General Montauban's camp, being upon the opposite side of the road in a fine grove of trees. The grand entrance to Yuen-ming-yuen lay immediately beyond, the paved road leading up to the gate, upon either side of which was the colossal representation of a lion mounted upon a granite pedestal. As they were of a bronze colour, no one took the trouble of ascertaining the nature of the metal of which they were com-

posed, taking it for granted that they were of the ordinary alloy from which the bronze ornaments, so common in China, are usually cast. Some months afterwards, when at Shanghai, some Chinamen asked a friend of mine residing there, whether we had removed the golden lions from the gates of Yuen-ming-yuen; and upon being questioned regarding them, he described them accurately as being painted a bronze colour. Many other well-informed natives corroborated the statement, and said that the fact of their being gold was well known to all the nation. It is to be regretted that we did not find it out before leaving Pekin, as from their size I have no doubt but that their value would have gone far towards defraying the expenses of the war. The gateway was at one end of a courtyard, enclosed upon three sides with ranges of guard-houses, handsomely ornamented outside with curious carving, and roofed with variegated tiling. The eaves were studded with small representations of birds and beasts. There was a well-arranged combination of red, white, green, blue, and gilding about them, which gave a great richness of effect, without in any way palling upon the eye as heavy or gaudy. The gateway itself, like all those in the various public buildings of the country, was a curious combination of brick and woodwork, the former being used as sparingly as possible, with due regard to the stability of the building.

As in all the royal edifices scattered about in the neighbourhood of Hai-teen, the end of every beam or rafter visible from the outside was richly carved and painted. The doors were of massive woodwork

coloured red and picked out with gilding. The entrance was not intended for wheeled conveyances, the gate sills being some two or three feet above the adjoining pavement, with gently-sloping ramps of granite upon either side. They were roughed over just sufficiently to admit of horses passing over safely. Within the gate as you entered there was a guard-room to the right and left, in which the French sentries had taken the place of the Tartar household brigade. As we passed through, I saw some of the eunuchs belonging to the palace, who had been taken prisoners by our allies the evening before; some had been badly wounded, and all were handcuffed. They looked the personification of misery, expecting death momentarily, and knowing that if they escaped it at the hands of the barbarians they should meet with it from their own authorities for failing in their defence of the palace. The gateway opened into a long, narrow courtyard, paved, or rather flagged over with the utmost exactness. Upon the far side was a lofty building resembling in shape and construction the better class of joss-house, but having a well-to-do-in-the-world air about it, which none that I had hitherto seen in China possessed. Its carving, gilding, and painting was fresh and clean; its tiling was in perfect order, and looked quite new; its doors swung easily upon their hinges, and altogether it had none of that tumble-down look of dilapidation, which is so universal with all public buildings in the "flowery land," that it would almost appear as if such was a part and parcel of the original design. A neatly finished wire network was stretched along under the wood carvings of the roof eaves to

prevent the birds from building nests or roosting there, by which means the elaborate tracery and painting was preserved, maintaining all the freshness of recent finish, although executed many years since. This was the Hall of Audience, at the upper end of which opposite the door, stood the Imperial throne, before which so many princes and ambassadors of haughty monarchs had humbly prostrated themselves, according to the slave-like obeisance customary at the Chinese court. Upon entering, the effect was good, without being grand or in any way realising the preconceived ideas one had formed of it. Everything upon which the eye could rest was pretty and well designed, each little object being a gem of its kind, but there was nothing imposing in the *tout ensemble*. Chinese architecture can never be so; to produce such an effect is seemingly never attempted by the architects of that country. Both in landscape gardening and building, the Chinaman loses sight of grand or imposing effects, in his endeavours to load everything with ornament; he forgets the fine in his search after the curious. In their thirst after decoration, and in their inherent love for minute embellishment, the artists and architects of China have failed to produce any great work capable of inspiring those sensations of awe or admiration which strike every one when first gazing upon the magnificent creations of European architects. The grotto at Cremorne is a very fair specimen of what is esteemed in China as the *acme* of all that is beautiful; and as there are in the gardens at that place, crowded into a very small space, diminutive representations of mountains and rustic scenery, so in the pleasure grounds of Yuen-ming-yuen, and all other

ornamental localities of the empire, there are seen, compressed into every little nook or corner, tiny canals, ponds, bridges, stunted trees and rockery, so that it resembles more the design of a child in front of her doll's house than the work of grown-up men. Size, space, or grandeur, produce no sentiments of admiration in the Chinese mind, nor are there any ruins in the country that we know of which would lead us to think that the ancestors of the present generation differed from them in this matter. In this respect they are unlike all the other great nations of antiquity. The pyramids of Egypt, the colossal figures of Nineveh, the massive structures of Thebes and Memphis, and the huge stone portals of long-forgotten races in South America, testify to the importance attached by their builders to size and substantiality of material; whereas, in the very Audience Hall of Hien-fung, there was no further attempt at effect than what could be obtained from gilding and high-colouring, tastefully distributed throughout the puzzle-like wooden roofing or unimposing-looking pillars of the same perishable material. The floor of this grand hall was of highly-polished marble, each piece cut into the form of some mathematical figure, and all joined so closely, that the divisions between each were marked only by the very thinnest line. An immense painting covered the upper portion of the wall upon the left hand as we entered; it was a representation of the summer palaces and surrounding gardens done in isometrical projection, at which the Chinese are rather clever, considering the childish house-that-Jack-built-like attempts which they make at ordinary perspective in their landscape drawings.

The Imperial throne was a beautiful piece of workmanship, made of rose-wood. It stood upon a platform, raised about eighteen inches above the other part of the hall, and was surrounded by an open-work balustrading, richly carved in representation of roses and other flowers. Upon each side of the throne stood a high pole screen decorated with blue enamel and peacocks' feathers, upon which small rubies and emeralds were strung. Handsomely carved tables and sideboards were ranged along around the room, upon which were numbers of enamel vases, porcelain bowls, jars of crackled china and other curiosities for which the empire is famous. Several large, gilt French time-pieces were also in the hall. Piled up in one place were all the Imperial decrees published during the past year, and large quantities of the Chinese classics were arranged so as to be at hand, in case any immediate reference might be required to them. All these were beautifully printed, and many had autograph remarks upon the margin, made by the Emperor.

To leave the hall and get into the gardens, you passed out behind a screen at the back of the throne. You then found yourself in a labyrinth of neatly laid out walks, with high, grassy mounds bounding them upon either side, the tops of which were thickly studded with trees of all the various kinds to be found in the empire. Beneath their shade there were, at various intervals, some rustic-looking stone benches, or well arranged piles of rockery, from the interstices between the stones of which sprang lichens and ferns of various sorts. Quaint shrubs and dwarf trees, stunted after the most approved fashion of Chinese gardeners,

grew upon all sides. Upon proceeding some short distance along these winding paths, crossing over rustic bridges, ascending and descending many rural-looking steps, the walk opened out upon a tolerably sized pond, on the further side of which were the private apartments of his Majesty, surrounded by the houses of his many wives, concubines, eunuchs, and servants. The suite of rooms from which Hien-fung had fled only some fourteen days before, were one and all a vast curiosity shop, combining, in addition to the finest specimens of native art and workmanship, the most curious ornaments of European manufacture. The French had placed a guard over those apartments, and none were at first admitted but their own officers, so that when we arrived most of the furniture, &c., still remained as it had been when Hien-fung had occupied them.

His small cap, decorated with the character of longevity embroidered upon it, lay upon his bed; his pipe and tobacco pouch was upon a small table close by. In all the adjoining rooms were immense wardrobes filled with silks, satins, and fur coats. Cloaks covered with the richest golden needlework, mandarine dresses, edged with ermine and sable and marked with representations of the five-clawed dragons, showing they were intended for royalty, were stored in presses. The cushions upon the chairs and sofas were covered with the finest yellow satin embroidered over with figures of dragons and flowers. Yellow is the Imperial colour, and none but those of royal birth are permitted to wear clothes made of it. Jade stone is of all precious articles the most highly prized in China, some of it fetching immense prices. For centuries past

the finest pieces have been purchased by the emperors and stored up in Yuen-ming-yuen. The description most highly prized is of a bright green colour, and is called in Chinese the feh-tsui. It is never found in any quantity, and even small pieces of it are very rare. Jade of a pure white, when quite clear, is highly esteemed, and of it there were vast quantities, all exquisitely carved. In some rooms large chests were found filled with cups, vases, plates, &c., made of jade stone. As you left these buildings and wandered through the maze of walks and winding paths, which led seemingly nowhere in particular, one soon became lost amidst the multiplicity of turnings, marble bridges, canals and fish-ponds met with everywhere, and literally covering the park. Upon some of these little sheets of water there were lilliputian junks armed with small brass cannon, with which a naval fight was sometimes represented for the amusement of his Majesty, who watched the show from a neighbouring tea-house.

Taking Yuen-ming-yuen all in all, it was a gem of its kind, and yet I do not suppose there was a single man who visited it without being disappointed. There was an absence of grandeur about it, for which no amount of careful gardening and pretty ornaments can compensate. Our allies were so busy in the collection of their plunder that they did not move upon Pekin until the 9th October. Numbers of our officers had consequently an opportunity of visiting the palaces and securing valuables; but our men were carefully prevented from leaving camp. Those officers who were fortunate enough to have carts and time for amusement, brought into camp large collections of valuables. It

was naturally most riling to our soldiers to see their allies rolling in wealth, and even their own officers all more or less provided with curiosities whilst they themselves had got nothing. It would have been very easy for the Commander-in-Chief to have allowed our regiments to go out there one by one ; but the state in which the French army was then in, and the recollection of what ours had been after the capture of Delhi were cogent reasons for avoiding such an arrangement. Subsequent to Sir Hope Grant's visit to the palaces upon the 7th October, a room of treasure was discovered there, a small share of which was secured for our army by the active exertions of Major Anson, A.D.C., who had been appointed one of our prize agents. The treasure chiefly consisted of golden ingots, the portion falling to our lot amounting to about eight or nine thousand pounds sterling. To have permitted our officers to retain what they had personally taken from the palaces, whilst the private soldier received nothing, would have been very hard upon the latter. The Commander-in-Chief therefore issued an order directing all officers to send in everything they had taken to the prize agents, who had been nominated to receive all such property, for the purpose of having it sold by public auction upon the spot and the proceeds distributed immediately amongst the army.

The sale took place in front of the large joss-house at head-quarters, realising 123,000 dollars, which enabled the prize agents to issue seventeen dollars (nearly four pounds sterling) to every private belonging to our army. The officers were divided into three classes, and received in the same proportion. The Commander-

in-Chief, whose share would have been considerable, renounced his claims; the Major-Generals, Sir John Michel, K.C.B. and Sir Robert Napier, K.C.B., following his example. One third went to the officers, two thirds to the non-commissioned officers and men.

Prize money is a subject well understood but seldom received by our soldiers. So many times within the last half century has it been promised to them, and yet withheld for years afterwards, that it is now becoming quite a byword in the army, a sort of *ignis fatuus*, which recedes and recedes as the promised time for distribution draws near. The procrastination and difficulties usually attendant upon the issue of all such money, depreciates its worth to a mere paper value in the eyes of soldiers; and I fear much that in our next wars, no promises about the establishment of a prize fund will carry much weight with them upon the capture of a place, or serve to deter many from helping themselves, even although the present generation in our army may have passed away before such an event.

The history of former wars and old standing grievances are handed down by old soldiers to young ones, and if they are slow to act they are most surely slow in forgetting. Years after some of our former campaigns, a larger sum of prize money has been given to each man who then survived, than was distributed to every man of the Pekin army; but I am sure that none had ever been so well received as that was. A man educated to military precision appreciates preciseness in all dealings with him, so that any reward or recognition of services is doubly prized if conferred upon the spot or at the time of their performance.

Every officer in our army feels the truth of these facts ; but as they carry little weight in the management of military matters, and as even the authority of our Horse Guards is rapidly fading away under the influence of civilian war ministers, years are allowed to pass over after a campaign before either prize money or even the very medals are distributed for it. All prizes made in war are the sovereign's property, and far be it from any officer to wish it otherwise ; but as it is usual to distribute such or a portion of it amongst the men, as a reward for their steadiness under arms, it will be very difficult, unless some better system is adopted than that lately practised, to restrain our men in future wars from leaving their ranks to plunder.

Let it be once clearly understood that all valuables taken will be sold for the benefit of the prize fund, which will be appropriated to whatever purposes her Majesty may decide upon, as soon as the campaign is over; and the discipline of our army will always be maintained. The temptation to enrich oneself at our enemy's expense is very great. Try and stop by forbidding it in orders, and punishing those caught *flagrante delicto;* and the consequence is, that as the good men only obey, remaining poor, whilst they see their disobedient comrades becoming rich, discontent follows as a natural consequence. Any who have ever been present at the assault of a town will, I am sure, agree with me in thinking that no price is too high which we can pay for the prevention of those dreadful scenes of riot and consequent insubordination which have upon several occasions followed such an event. Discipline once relaxed, as it must be when plunder is

permitted, its entire fabric of regulations break down in one moment, which it takes many months of subsequent reorganisation to reassert. If Sir Hope Grant had contented himself with promising that the question of prize money should be referred to the Home Government, after their recent Indian experience, our men would have been very dissatisfied, seeing every French soldier going about with his pockets filled with dollars and Sycee silver. Indeed, I fear that the temptation would have been too great for many of our men, who knew that Yuen-ming-yuen was only a few miles off. The plan which he adopted, although novel, was thoroughly successful, and all were pleased with its results. I have enlarged upon this subject, but I trust that its seriousness may plead my excuse with the reader.

Our auction lasted two days, and was the source of much amusement to all attending it — men bidding against one another to ridiculously high prices, very often for such trash, that, had it been given to them for nothing, few would have considered it worth the trouble of taking away. Some few, to whose looting propensities the community was highly indebted for a large proportion of what was sold, were to be seen occasionally with woeful countenances listening to the bidding for some pet article upon which they had set their hearts, but for which they were not prepared to bid beyond the great price offered, having, in the first instance, obtained it for nothing. Fur coats in great abundance were sold, and realised good prices, as the weather was day by day becoming colder, and a report was going round our regiments that the ambassador was desirous of detaining a division at Pekin for the

winter; so all articles of warm clothing were at a premium.

Amongst the *curios* found in the palace were the presents presented to the Emperor by Lord Macartney. Watches, in great numbers and of all shapes, sizes and ages, were found by the French soldiers, and sold by them individually to our officers. Some were most curious; others were of great value, being set round with brilliants, rubies, emeralds, &c. &c. Time-pieces and clocks of European manufacture were evidently favourite ornaments with his Majesty, for almost every room possessed some two or three. Lord Elgin's treaty of 1858 was found lying about with other official papers in the Emperor's private room. In one of the court-yards we found eleven horses and some saddles, which were recognised as having belonged to Mr. Parkes's party.

CHAP. IX.

PRÉCIS OF THE CHINESE OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS FOUND IN YUEN-MING-YUEN.

Some of the documents collected by Mr. Morrison, of the Consular Service, were most interesting, and gave a fair insight into the secret purposes of Chinese policy, and the method in which their official business is carried on. From some of these it appeared, that Kweiliang's negotiations with us in September were only intended for gaining time, and never meant to arrange matters finally. In case we proved obstinate in our intentions of advancing beyond Tien-tsin, it had been all along arranged to try the chances of war again. In order to do so to the best advantage, negotiations were to be spun out, so that military operations might be, if possible, prolonged into the cold weather, upon the inclemency of which they placed as much reliance for their protection as the Czar Nicholas was reported to have done for the defence of Sebastopol. Some of the captured papers were very clever, and showed an extraordinary amount of diplomatic ability. Having no regard whatever for truth, bound by no fine feelings of humanity, but ready at any moment to sacrifice their innocent agents to the expediency of the moment, their political system is eminently calculated

for all the complex situations of diplomacy. The cold-blooded rules for government enunciated in "The Prince," appear to be well understood in China. His Celestial Majesty can never do wrong; not because his actions are always guided by a council responsible to the people, but that in the event of any failure on the part of a public servant deputed for any special duty, even though such may have arisen from a strict adherence to his orders, all responsibility is cast upon the unsuccessful agent, who is publicly degraded, to impress the people with an idea that the whole conduct of the affair had been initiated by him. Gratitude for faithful services is never permitted to interfere with the exigencies of the moment. Expediency to its most extended limit is the one great law regulating the official dealings of his Majesty, both with his own people and foreigners. So in one of these papers we find the draft of an Imperial decree directing Kweiliang to be degraded as soon as the mock negotiations, in which he was engaged at Tien-tsin, came to an end. It was no doubt expected that the publication of that order would lead us to believe that he alone was to blame for the non-arrangement of affairs, and incline us to lend a more willing ear — as we subsequently did — to the proposals made by his successor. Success covers all errors in most governments; but in China we find one of the highest and most faithful public servants deprived of rank and station for carrying out accurately the instructions he had received, in order to give to mock negotiations the semblance of reality. A long paper, written with the vermilion pencil of royalty, upon the subject of our demands, gives a fair outline

of the various degrees of importance attached by Chinese politicians to each of the specific concessions we had asked for.

Of all others, they considered the march of troops into Pekin as the most highly objectionable, and the residence of an ambassador there as next in importance, both equally to be avoided. The paper went on to say,—"If conciliation is once negotiated, why do they want to bring soldiers to Pekin with their ambassadors? Their doing so would seem that they had some hidden purpose, which, when their troops were within Pekin, it would be as impossible to concede as it would then be to fight."—"Were we to assent, would there be any more word of that most important of all places, the capital?" On the subject of war expenses, his Majesty said, "Setting aside the impossibility of paying the two millions of taels by the time named, it is utterly out of the question to pay at all."—"From of old, it has been held a disgrace to make treaties under your city walls, and if one is again to tender gifts, whilst one's face is ashamed, will China be thought still to have a man?"

This head was to be disposed of by applying to us for monied indemnification for the expenses which the war had entailed upon the Imperial Government.

As to the admission of Mr. Parkes within Pekin, his Majesty considered that if once conceded, that gentleman, "idly yelping and frantically barking, is certain to bring forward other conditions," and might not be subsequently got rid of easily.

The memorial of Sang-ko-lin-sin, dated the 26th August, two days after the fall of the Takoo forts, addressed to the Emperor, was one, which, from many

other papers found and translated by Mr. Wade, seems to have created great sensation amongst all the Imperial ministers, and to have been condemned most strongly by every official whom we know to have written to his Majesty regarding it. The subject of the memorial was advising Hien-fung to start on a hunting tour; the reasons he urges for the necessity of such a move seem so inconclusive and so thoroughly untenable before the great weight of argument brought to bear against them, that the advice appears interested, and carries with it a certain amount of what might be intended treachery. So unanimous are all the civil ministers in their condemnation of such a proceeding, that it would almost seem that they suspected some ulterior motives on Sang-ko-lin-sin's part. From all previously found documents emanating from his pen, and from his general reputation, there cannot be any doubt regarding his mental ability and ordinarily sound views upon military matters and public business in general. He made a great mistake certainly in not fortifying Peh-tang as strongly as he had fortified Takoo, but this to a certain extent may have arisen from want of men and means; but in the paper which he drew up regarding the general defences of the coast-line, and the chances of their being successfully attacked by the barbarians — to which I have previously referred — his views were most able, and the opinions therein set forth of the certainty of our complete overthrow and failure, were based most fairly upon military grounds, and would have been given under similar circumstances by any man who was ignorant of our superiority in guns and discipline.

Knowing the great strength of his position, he was naturally confident of victory. He had a very large force of cavalry—an arm which he fancied it to be impossible we should be furnished with; he had numbers of guns in position, to which, in the general Chinese ignorance regarding field artillery, he thought we should be able to reply only with small arms. With such data before him, surely it is not surprising that he should be confident of success! Indeed, so powerful and ample must his resources have appeared to him, that it was no wonder he regarded our being able to effect a landing at Peh-tang as rather a matter of indifference, so sure and certain must our final annihilation have seemed to be. The man who could argue as clearly and with such soundness of logic, was not likely to be blind to the insurmountable objections to the proposal which, upon the fall of the forts, he urged so pressingly upon his Imperial master: for the Emperor to leave his capital at such a critical moment, and fly away across the frontier of China Proper, was as objectionable and faulty in a political point of view, as, regarded in a military light, it was untenable. It afforded the Chinese Commander-in-Chief no advantage whatever as to position, whilst, morally, it must have had a most prejudicial effect upon the minds of his Tartar soldiers. The arguments which he urges in favour of such a step were, that its adoption would facilitate measures being taken for attacking and destroying the barbarians; that it would place him at liberty to choose his own time and place of attack, to advance or retire as events occurred; that, should any

fighting take place near Tung-chow, the minds of the people in Pekin would be greatly agitated, and that, in the event of a reverse, the numerous merchants there would take to flight. Amidst such a commotion, should the courage of the soldiers fail, the Emperor's person would not be safe; and his Majesty's presence in the capital at such a moment might not only impede the execution of the necessary defensive arrangements, but even fill with alarm the Celestial mind itself. Of his ultimate success he was still confident; he had made all the necessary dispositions of his troops along the road from Tien-tsin to Tung-chow; and he hoped, by sweeping from off the earth the vile brood, to redeem his previous shortcomings. The forts, he said, he had lost from the unforeseen explosion of the powder magazines in them, not from any want of energy in their defence. In conclusion, he prays that his Majesty may order the princes of the Six Leagues to repair with their most efficient troops at once to Pekin.

So peculiar did he evidently consider the advice he was tendering, that he said "he did not venture to forward his memorial by the regular express," but sent it sealed by the hands of a special messenger, to be delivered in person to his Majesty.

Surely there is much in this letter which will strike even the most superficial reader as suspicious. The lameness of the arguments urged in favour of the hunting tour being only equalled by the cleverness with which he avails himself of the known weakness and cowardice of his master, to hint in such a marked manner at the personal danger to which his Majesty

will be exposed, should he turn a deaf ear to the advice of "his slave."

Unless such was the case, why not send it through the usual channel of communication? Why the secresy of sending it sealed by a confidential messenger, to be delivered into the Emperor's own hands?

No man appreciated more the importance attached by every one in China to the possession of Pekin, than Sang-ko-lin-sin himself. He must have been aware that, if once we took it, all China would consider the war over, and hail us as victors; that, even at the last moment of our assaulting the place (so vast was its circumference, and so numerically weak were we), we could never block up all the exits from it, and thus prevent the Emperor's escape; that nothing would serve to establish public confidence, or to strengthen the hearts of its defenders, more than the presence of the father of his people on the spot. His wished-for freedom of action was all a myth, as was proved by his subsequent conduct, when twice he gave us battle upon the road to Pekin. He was too able a general not to be aware that if he had fought us twenty times, instead of twice, it must each time have been on that line, or else at the capital itself. Even granting that his knowledge of war pointed out to him the advantages which, in a military point of view, he might gain by forsaking the city and taking up a menacing position upon our line of communications, as Koutousof did at Moscow, still he must have felt that, politically, such a policy would be fatal to the cause. China and Russia are totally different countries; nor was the ancient capital of the latter country, like

Pekin, the seat of general government. The loss of Madrid or Paris has never been considered to involve the conquest of the country. The possession of European capitals by invaders has never been looked upon by the population of those countries as the outward emblem and unanswerable proof of complete conquest, whilst to every Chinaman the capture of Pekin by any foreigner would be the most convincing of all other proofs that the Mantchoo dynasty had ceased to reign. Under such circumstances the grand struggle must always have taken place in or about Pekin; his wished-for "freedom of action" was simply a military phrase meaning nothing. His insight into human nature was great, and he seemed to possess a clear idea of the working of Hien-fung's dastardly mind, when he appealed to his sense of personal risk. This latter consideration seems to have had far greater weight with him than all the serious objections to his departure which were raised by every minister to whom at this distressing juncture he appealed for advice. Every argument which would have had weight with any ruler but the basest of cowards, was brought forward by the various ministers of state, who, also appreciating the power which fear had upon their sovereign's mind, followed in the summing up of their memorials Sang-ko-lin-sin's example, and urged in their turn the dangers to which his Majesty would be exposed personally by flying from his capital and seeking refuge in Jeho.

No doubt they exaggerated those dangers in order to strike the greater terror into their pusillanimous ruler. They dilated upon the vast numbers of robbers, infesting not only the neighbourhood of Jeho but the

road to it, where the police could not be expected to be perfect, when such turmoil was rife everywhere else. They urged that, owing to the falling off in the yielding of the mines, the people had become so impoverished about Jeho, that they frequently banded together in very large numbers, and not only robbed traders and officials, but created great disturbances in the neighbouring districts; that beyond the Hoo-pe-kow pass in the Great Wall, there were "numbers of Russian barbarians, some of whom have been for a long time pretending to deliver communications at Pekin for the furtherance of some treacherous designs;" that if the strong fortifications of Pekin were not considered sufficient security, surely much less could any be found in the open and unprotected hunting-grounds beyond the wall; if the barbarians have been able to reach Tien-tsin, what is to prevent them from penetrating to the Loan river at Jeho? Having thus tried to impress upon the mind of "the sacred Son of Heaven" the dangers to be encountered at Jeho, they go on to point out the great inconvenience and discomfort to which the "Governor and Tranquilliser of the Universe" would be subject during his journey in the "still hot weather of autumn." As no such journey had been undertaken for forty years, all the Imperial palaces along the line of route, having been so long unused, had fallen into disrepair, and were consequently uninhabitable. An escort of at least 10,000 persons would be required for the journey, for whom it would be impossible to provide supplies on the road, and consequently numbers of them would desert, and, falling in with the

numerous banditti who prowl about those regions wherever they please, would lead to serious disturbances. Jeho was the constant resort of the Mongol tribes, to whom it had always been customary upon the visit of former Emperors to bestow presents, amounting to tens of millions of taels, which the present financial difficulties would not admit of, and without doing which it might be difficult to soothe the discontent of those tributaries.

In this manner they appealed to his Majesty's sense of personal risk and inconvenience, whilst they put forward, in a startlingly straightforward manner, the political objections to his journey, urging their arguments upon him with a force and plainness of speech which few European ministers could presume to use with their sovereigns, and in a manner the very opposite to all our preconceived notions of Chinese court etiquette or the style of address usual from the Mandarins to their despotic Emperor. The papers which fell into our hands were memorials from various ministers of state, all signed by several others who agreed in the substance of them. One was countersigned by as many as seventy-six ministers; that of the earliest date was from Kia-ching, and signed by twenty-five others, dated the 9th September.

It was evidently written in answer to a communication from the Emperor, in which he had demanded an opinion upon Sang-ko-lin-sin's advice, enclosing a copy at the same time of the memorial from that general.

Rumours of the intended flight of his Majesty had been in circulation for some time previous at Pekin; and so when his Majesty declared that he intended

proceeding to Tung-chow and taking command of the army in person, the ministers appear to have seen through the artifice, and perceived that such was only an excuse for his departure, and that once on the move he would follow his general's advice and make quickly for Jeho.

In another paper from the minister Tsuien-king, dated four days later, the most sarcastic censure is poured forth upon a proposed plan which had emanated from the Celestial mind, which was that, assembling a large force, he should take up a position to the north of Pekin. "They admired the awe-inspiring demeanour and the well-devised strategy thus displayed. But the common people are extremely slow of comprehension; they easily suspect and with difficulty are led to appreciate; they will say that as the barbarians are to the south-eastward of the capital, Tung-chow should be the position from which to support Sang-ko-lin-sin; that a position to the north of Pekin would be without the general line of operations; that what was undertaken under the semblance of strategy would in reality be flight. If his Majesty was in such a critical time careless of the preservation of his empire and only regardful of his personal safety, where could such be more securely assured to him than within the thick and lofty walls of Pekin?" One and all of these memorials denote with startling plainness what should be the Emperor's line of conduct at such a critical conjuncture, and urge that at such times of public danger, "the man of heroic conduct is prepared to die at his post." — "Your Majesty is well aware of the maxim, that the prince is bound to sacrifice him-

self for his country; but far be it from your ministers at such a time as this to desire to wound your Majesty's feelings by adverting to such thoughts."—"In what light does your Majesty regard your people, and the altars of your Gods? Will you cast away the inheritance of your ancestors like a damaged shoe? What would history say of your Majesty for a thousand future generations." No sovereign hitherto has ever gone on a hunting tour in times of danger. Such a journey would then greatly endanger the whole state, and compromise the reigning dynasty; his departure would occasion the most serious disorders within the capital and lead to a revolution. All people, they said, throughout the empire then looked to the throne, as to the centre from which all plans for safety must emanate; the minds of people, they added, will become disturbed, shaking the courage of the troops and inspiring the rebels with renewed energy; the capital "is the honourable seat of majesty, and at such a moment especially the sovereign ought to remain within it;" to leave it would embolden the barbarians to make fresh enterprises, and should peace be negotiated, the great distance of Jeho from Pekin would cause considerable delay in communicating with his Majesty there. Although the barbarians' vessels had reached Tien-tsin, yet that was a long distance from Pekin; their force was only 10,000, whilst the army under Sang-ko-lin-sin numbered 30,000, and men, women, and children were ready to fight for their tutelary gods. "The danger was most threatening," and "a puff of breath is now sufficient to decide the balance in which hangs the loss or preservation of the succession of your ances-

tors and the repose of the deities." The advice which they with one accord give is that an Imperial decree should at once announce his Majesty's determination of awaiting events at his capital, which it was requested might at once be placed in the highest state of defence. "When Te-tsung of the Tang dynasty (A.D. 790) made a public confession of error" the mutineers returned at once to obedience, and if his present Majesty would but follow a similar plan, and publicly acknowledge his mistake in having intended to leave the capital, it would reassure the troubled minds of his subjects. As it had been talked of paying the barbarians 20,000,000 of taels, how much better it would be to devote the portion which had been demanded down in ready money to gaining over those treacherous Chinese mercenaries who constituted such a considerable portion of the barbarians' army. To purchase peace by paying the invaders for retiring, would only occasion fresh demands for more money; no peace should under any circumstances be granted until the "vile horde" had been defeated in battle. His late Imperial Majesty, in his last will, spoke with shame of having concluded a peace with the English barbarians. For the better fulfilment of these plans his Majesty is over and over again besought to return to Pekin, and thus appease the popular anxiety, "maintain the dignity of the throne and pacify the spirits of your ancestors." Since the establishment of the present dynasty, 200 years ago, providence had guarded the humane government. Should his Majesty now disregard the council of his ministers, it must surely hereafter produce in him "bitter but unavailing regret."

All these memorials and the advice which they endeavoured to inculcate are closely interlarded with historical allusions to past times, some to events of many centuries back. It will be seen from these papers, the pith of which I have dotted down above, that one and all of the ministers viewed Sang-ko-lin-sin's recommendation as the most pernicious step which could be taken, and express their opinions thereon so strongly as actually to border upon impertinence. Surely, when such was apparently the universal light in which all Chinese politicians regarded the Jeho tour, Sang-ko-lin-sin must have had some underhand and hidden object before him in recommending it. For a long time he had been steadily rising in power and influence, and his position was so influential after his grand defeat of the rebels, when they advanced upon Tien-tsin, that it aroused the jealousy of all the court, and caused his offer of leading down an army to Nankin, and retaking that important city, to be rejected, not from any doubts as to his ability to fulfil what he planned, but simply from a dread that such a victory would place the entire power of the empire in his hands and consequently open to him a rapid path to the throne. Usurpations of such a nature are not unfamiliar to the Chinese people, and so great have been the reverses experienced since 1840 by the present dynasty, that it has long since ceased to carry with it any great respect, and consequently any strong attachment on the part of the Chinese people. Sang-ko-lin-sin's name has been, since his victory over us in 1859, a proverb for might in war throughout the length and breadth of the country, and upon him all eyes were turned for salvation

when the barbarians, having forced their way up to Tien-tsin, threatened the capital, and as was universally believed, the very liberties of the empire. For him the throne was an easy goal. If once he could succeed in inducing the reigning king to forfeit for ever any little remaining respect which the people still entertained for the crown by being the first to fly before the invaders of his country, and if he could also defeat in open field the small body of barbarians, then, upon their march northward, the assumption of Imperial robes would be but the easiest part of his plan to accomplish. This to me is certainly the best solution of what otherwise appears the most incomprehensible advice which a sincere and loyal subject could under the circumstances have given to his sovereign.

CHAP. X.

NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE SURRENDER OF PEKIN. — RELEASE OF MESSRS. LOCH, PARKES, AND OTHER PRISONERS MADE BY THE CHINESE. — NARRATIVE OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES CONNECTED WITH THEIR CAPTURE. — ARRIVAL OF THE FRENCH ARMY IN FRONT OF PEKIN. — PREPARATIONS FOR ASSAULTING THE FORTIFICATIONS OF THAT CITY. — SURRENDER OF THE AN-TING GATE AND ITS OCCUPATION BY THE ALLIED TROOPS. — MILITARY FUNERAL OF THE BRITISH SUBJECTS WHO HAD BEEN MURDERED BY THE CHINESE.

Upon the 7th October a letter was received from the Prince of Kung, signed by Mr. Parkes. It was dated the day before, and should have reached us that same afternoon, but the bearer, whilst on the road to our camp, had met with our army when on the march, and taking fright, had turned back. The letter promised the return of all prisoners by the 8th October. There was a tone of nervous anxiety in it, which had not characterised any of his former communications. A verbal answer was sent back, intimating that Mr. Wade would meet a deputy without the city walls, at four o'clock in the afternoon.

The appointed interview took place, Hang-ki having been, according to his own statement, lowered from the top of the city walls in a basket, as all the gates were blockaded up. He informed Mr. Wade that the Prince of Kung had accompanied the army in its

retreat the day before, taking most of the prisoners with him, but that most positively those still remaining in Pekin should be sent to our camp upon the following day.

Mr. Wade had previously drawn up a paper stating the conditions upon which we would spare Pekin. The immediate surrender of a gate was declared indispensable for the security of our ambassador, when he entered the capital; the treacherous capture of our people upon the 18th of September having rendered some such guarantee necessary as a precautionary measure. This request was most unpalatable, and for some time resisted by Hang-ki; but as Mr. Wade was unbending, Hang-ki at last acceded to it.

Upon the 8th October, Messrs. Loch, Parkes, a sowar of Probyn's Horse, M. l'Escayrac de Lauture, and four French soldiers, were sent into our headquarters; upon the 12th October, one French soldier and eight sowars; and upon the 14th October two more sowars. Those were the only survivors of the twenty-six English and thirteen French subjects treacherously captured under the most flagrant disregard to all international law. There is truly no term in our language which so essentially describes the Chinese rulers as the word barbarian, which they use so universally as an opprobrious epithet when alluding to any people so happily fortunate as to be of any other nation than China. The gloomiest page of history does not disclose any more melancholy tale than that told by one and all of those who returned. The refinement of torture and unmeaning cruelty to which they had been subject, and the wanton disregard

for all feelings of humanity evinced towards them, would almost cause one to doubt the humanism of their jailors, and to class them amongst some fearful species of ogre, which not only fed upon man, but loved to destroy him for mere destruction's sake. The substance of their sad story is as follows :—

Upon Captain Brabazon and Mr. Loch's arrival at Tung-chow (for which place I have previously mentioned their having started from our army, some little time before the action of the 18th September commenced), they found that Mr. Parkes was engaged in a conference with the Prince of I, and that Messrs. Bowlby and De Norman were in the city searching for some building which would serve as a suitable residence for Lord Elgin during his stay in that place. The escort was at the Yamun, in which all had passed the previous night, and it was immediately ordered to saddle and prepare for leaving. Messengers were despatched into the city for those who were sight-seeing there ; and when all were collected, they started at a brisk pace in the direction of our army. During the interview with the Prince of I, Mr. Parkes was struck with the altered demeanour of his Highness towards him, which was also evinced by the loud talking and unceremonious conduct of those about him. Mr. Parkes had entered his presence intending to carry everything, as usual, with a high hand ; but upon demanding, " why, in direct violation of their previous agreement, a large army was in the field, almost surrounding our forces, and in possession of an entrenched position, where a number of guns had been lately mounted," the Prince showed none of that eagerness to allay

suspicions or remove unfavourable impressions which, upon all former occasions, had characterised his manner of speaking or writing.

The party reached Chang-kia-wan without any molestation, although there were large bodies of troops about. A party of Tartar horsemen were soon, however, discovered to be following them; and, as it was not thought advisable to appear running away from them, the pace of going was changed from a canter to a fast walk. The Tartars immediately assimilated their pace to theirs, and some of them were perceived blowing the matches of their matchlocks. Proceeding along the regular roadway, until they had reached an old watch-tower which stood about half way between our army and Chang-kia-wan, they found their further progress arrested by a body of infantry, drawn up upon the road. The Chinese officer in charge was not particularly uncivil, but distinctly informed Mr. Parkes that he could not be allowed to pass until he had obtained the general's permission. Upon learning that the general was close at hand, Mr. Parkes, accompanied by Mr. Loch and a sowar, carrying a flag of truce, proceeded in the direction where the Chinese general was said to be. All this occurred just as the firing commenced upon Colonel Walker and his party.

The general, into whose presence they were conducted, proved to be Sang-ko-lin-sin, the well-known Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's forces. The white banner was no protection for them against that barbarian's temper. They were dragged from their horses and forced by those who held them to kow-tow humbly before him, having their faces rubbed in the

dust at his feet. Their names were demanded, and questions regarding our military force in the field put to Mr. Parkes, whom Sang-ko-lin-sin heartily abused as the cause of all the war. He said that he had been looking for him a long time, and now, at last, he was in his power. He requested Mr. Parkes to write to our general and stop the action; but Mr. Parkes told him such would be useless, as he had no military authority.

His conduct was most praiseworthy, both then and upon all the many occasions during his subsequent imprisonment, when endeavours were made, by means of cruel treatment and threats of condign punishment, to work upon his fears, and so, from a regard for his own personal safety, to persuade him to intercede with our ambassador for them. Under the most trying circumstances his courage does not seem ever to have deserted him, and no amount of indignity or punishment induced him to seek for his own personal security by any efforts to obtain the smallest remission of our original demands.

Being unable to obtain any satisfaction from Mr. Parkes, Sang-ko-lin-sin or Sang-wan, by which name he is only known to the Chinese people generally, ordered Messrs. Parkes and Loch, together with the sowar who accompanied them, to be sent to the Prince of I, and the escort to be conducted back to Chang-kia-wan. The poor sowar who was with Mr. Parkes, was most unwillingly made prisoner, having, upon the first sign of violence by the Chinese soldiers, brought his lance down to the charge, and being only with difficulty restrained from showing fight. "Oh, Sahib," as he afterwards told us when released, "if we had

only charged, it would have been all right, and we should have escaped." His devotion, evinced by his desire to defend the officers with him when surrounded by enemies, was only equalled by his unrepining courage during his subsequent cruel imprisonment. Major Probyn promoted him on the evening of his return to camp. When I last saw him, his hands were still crippled, from the effects of the tight manner in which his wrists had been bound; and the sores caused by the cords used for that purpose were still unhealed.

Whilst Mr. Parkes was thus engaged with Sangwan, who can describe what must have been the feelings of the officers remaining with the escort upon the road? As their position did not enable them to see what was going on between Mr. Parkes and the Tartar general, they waited on in ignorance of what was passing, whilst every moment added to their difficulties by increasing the number of enemies around them. Having no orders, and ignorant of what had become of Mr. Parkes, they feared to act lest by so doing they might compromise his safety. Indeed, if at any moment before they were led off towards Pekin, they had assumed the offensive, and cut their way through into our camp, numbers, who now bemoan their fate, would have seriously blamed them, had Messrs. Parkes and Loch been murdered. In that case we should never have had a correct account of what befel them, and many would have attributed their deaths to the fact of the escort having commenced an attack. Of all the horrible positions in which I can fancy an officer being placed, I think that of Messrs. Brabazon and Anderson must have been the

worst. All their subsequent ill-treatment must have been insignificant, when compared with the moments of uncertainty which they passed whilst awaiting in vain for the return of Mr. Parkes. There cannot be much doubt that, if the escort had charged, most of them would have reached our army safely. The sowars were all picked men and well mounted, and none, who knew either of the two officers with the party, imagine, I am sure, that they were men who would have preferred taking the chances of imprisonment to that of a hand-to-hand encounter.

It is very easy now to say, "Oh, why did they not charge;" but I feel certain, that but few brave men would have done so under their peculiar circumstances; and their having refrained from fighting was a noble example of men refusing to seek personal safety at the risk of conpromising others. It evinced a disregard of self and a solicitude for the lives of others, which are amongst the rarest and most admirable of the heroic virtues.

The accounts of what happened to the party, are far from lucid or satisfactory. One feels a sort of unquenchable thirst, an earnest longing, which nothing can satisfy, to learn all the details of their sad fate. It is not then to be wondered at that the narratives related by the illiterate sowars who survived to return, should fail to be as ample as all would desire. Messrs. Brabazon, De Norman and Bowlby could not speak Hindostani, and as none of the sowars understood English our information regarding those gentlemen is meagre. Private Phipps, of the King's Dragoon Guards, had a partial knowledge of Hindostani; so of him we

know somewhat more. Up to the day of his death he never lost heart, and, as we were told by one who had been confined with him, always endeavoured to cheer up those about him when any complained or bemoaned their cruel fate. Even to his last moment of consciousness he tried to encourage them with words of hope and comfort.

All honour be to his memory: he was brave, when hundreds of brave men would have lost heart. The glorious excitement of action will inspire the most cold-blooded man with daring, and sometimes enable even a physically timid man to act with bravery; but nothing except the very highest order of courage, both mental and bodily, will sustain a man through the miseries of such a barbarous imprisonment and cruel torture as that which Private Phipps underwent patiently, his resolute spirit living within him up to the very last moment of his existence.

The particulars of the story, as collated from the accounts of those who lived to return, are as follows:—

When Messrs. Parkes and Loch left them upon the road for the purpose of having an interview with the Chinese general, Lieutenant Anderson, commanding the escort, told the men, that, as the aforesaid gentlemen were acting under a flag of truce, there was not to be any fighting. Almost immediately after they had halted, crowds of Chinese soldiers gathered round them, until they became hemmed in upon all sides closely. They were then really prisoners and had to give up their arms, after which they were ordered to dismount, but had their horses subsequently given back to them. They were conducted to the rear, and lodged for the night in a

joss-house near the paved road from Tung-chow to Pekin. The next morning they were ordered to mount again, and were taken to the capital. Whilst on the road Captain Brabazon and the Abbé de Luc left them, saying, they were going back to our camp to make arrangements for the release of all the party. That was the last ever seen of them by any of our people. All the information subsequently gleaned from Chinese sources tends to prove that both were beheaded the 21st September during the action fought upon that day.

A Chinese general had been badly wounded at the stone bridge during the attack upon it, and, in revenge, ordered Captain Brabazon and the Abbé, who were in his power, to be put to death. A Chinese Christian related this story to the French shortly before the allied armies retired from Pekin, averring that he had been present then, and bringing in some portion of the Abbé's gown in support of his statement. To those who judge of these facts by the commonly accepted laws of evidence, they must be conclusive, although there will be always some few who will refuse to believe, and will hope on against all rational hope. When the others of the party were taken to Pekin, they were paraded in triumph through the streets, and then taken to the summer palace, where they were lodged in tents pitched in an enclosed courtyard, the Europeans and natives separately, six men in each tent.

About two hours after their arrival they were all taken out one by one under the pretence of letting them wash, when each was thrown upon his face, his hands being then tied behind his back, and his feet bound together. The Chinese appeared to have a fair

appreciation of the relative strength of their prisoners, as they took out the English first, then the French, and lastly the sowars. They were placed in a kneeling position, their hands and feet fastened together, and then thrown upon their backs. If they attempted to roll over on their side, they were kicked, beaten, and forced back into their former position, which caused all the weight of their bodies to rest upon their hands, which, being tightly fastened together, had no circulation through them, and consequently became rapidly black and swollen. A Chinese sentry watched over each prisoner. They were kept thus in an open yard, exposed to the sun during the day and the bitter cold at night, without any covering. Their guardians frequently threw water on the cords with which they were bound, so as to tighten them, and when any asked for food or water, dirt was thrust into their mouths. They were kept thus for three days, with scarcely any food; and but little water even was given to them. Some were, however, handcuffed and chained, their cord fastenings being taken off. The only one of the party knowing anything of Chinese was Mr. de Norman, who had learned a little during his residence at Shanghai, where he had been attaché to the British Consulate. He was examined several times by officials, and once was able to induce his jailor to give them some food. On the second day of their incarceration at the summer palace, Lieutenant Anderson became delirious from want of food and exposure. Up to that time he had always encouraged the sowars when they called out for water or repined in any way at their condition. His hands were swollen to about twice their natural size, and were

as black as ink from the effects of the cords tied round his wrists. Poor fellow! It was merciful that delirium prevented him from feeling his subsequent miseries, as mortification setting in most rapidly, his fingers and nails actually burst, and worms, the usual consequence of undressed wounds, were generated about his hands and wrists in myriads. Crowds of people went to look at them daily, feasting their eyes upon the miseries of the few prisoners in their power. On the afternoon of the fourth day they were all placed in carts, and divided into four parties, one consisting of Lieutenant Anderson, Mr. de Norman, one duffedar and four sowars; the second of three Frenchmen and five Sikhs; the third party of four Sikhs, Private Phipps, King's Dragoon Guards, a French officer, and Mr. Bowlby; the fourth of three Frenchmen and four Sikhs. The first party travelled all night, the mules trotting most of the time. In the morning they reached a fort, where they were loaded with chains and confined in cages. There Lieutenant Anderson died on the ninth day of his imprisonment. Before death, the bones of his wrists were actually exposed, the fleshy parts being in a mortified state. Upon the evening of his death they took the cords off the other prisoners. Lieutenant Anderson's body was left lying amongst them for three days, when it was at last removed. Five days after that a sowar died, and three days subsequently Mr. de Norman died. The remainder of the party survived and returned to our camp, a melancholy evidence of the inhuman treatment which they had experienced. Their wrists and ankles were one mass of sores, horrible to look at; their fingers were contracted and almost useless. The second

party was taken away towards the hills, halting for the first night on the way. Travelling the two following days they reached a walled town, outside of which was a white fort, about two miles from it. The place was surrounded on three sides by hills; they were placed in a jail within the town. One Frenchman died on the road, and another the day after they were placed in jail, and a sowar a few days after that. They died from the effects of the tight bindings round their wrists, which caused mortification. During the latter ten days of their imprisonment, the others of their party who survived were treated better, the mandarin, in charge of the jail, having removed their irons, and having had their wounds washed. The third party travelled all the night of their removal. They received nothing to eat, and were beaten when they asked for food. On the following morning, at about ten A.M., they reached a fort, within which they were kept in the open air for three days, after which they were dragged into an old kitchen, where they were kept eight days, and for the first three or four of which they were not on any account permitted to stir. Mr. Bowlby died on the second day after their arrival at the fort. His body remained where he had died for three days, when it was fastened to a kind of cross-beam and thrown over the wall. The day after his death the French officer died; two days after that, a Sikh died; and four days afterwards Private Phipps, and another Sikh sometime subsequently. Of the fourth party we know nothing, as none of them survived to tell the tale of woe and cruelty to which they had been, no doubt, like the others, subjected. Messrs. Loch and Parkes were taken into Pekin upon

the night of their capture, their hands tied behind their backs. Together with the Frenchmen who were taken in Tung-chow, they were lodged in the common malefactors' prison of Pekin, heavily chained, and with scarcely food enough to support life. The cells in which they were kept were so crowded that they had barely sufficient space to lie down upon. From their jailors they met with only cruelty and insult, whilst from all their fellow-prisoners they received every little attention which the poor fellows were able to bestow upon them. They were frequently examined by officials and the Board of Punishments, when invariably their inquisitors ordered Mr. Parkes to be cuffed about the head and have his ears pulled for speaking what they said was false. Similar punishments were inflicted upon Mr. Loch because he did not answer their questions, he being totally ignorant of the language. At such times they were always obliged to remain in a kneeling position, and made to kow-tow to every official. Upon the 29th September they were removed from the jail and lodged in the Kaomio temple, where they were well fed, and treated more as guests than prisoners. Hang-ki endeavoured to obliterate from their memory all recollection of the cruel treatment to which they had been subjected, by subsequently overwhelming them with attentions. From the first, endeavours were made to work upon Mr. Parkes's fears, so as to induce him to mediate for the Chinese Government with our ambassador. Mr. Parkes upon all occasions upheld the dignity of the nation to which he belonged, never allowing himself to be intimidated or cajoled into promising anything for which he might subsequently be

sorry. When Hang-ki informed him on the 28th September that he should be released upon the day following, Mr. Parkes declined to accept the favour unless it was also extended to Mr. Loch: this disinterested conduct was rewarded by the discharge of both from prison upon the 29th. They were liberally treated from that time up to the date of their return to our camp upon the 8th October.

Upon the 9th October the French marched from Yuen-ming-yuen, and encamped to our left facing Pekin. The An-ting Gate was opposite the centre of the allied forces. The day following a summons was forwarded to the Prince of Kung, signed by the allied Commanders-in-Chief, naming noon of the 13th October as the latest time up to which he might save his city from bombardment by the surrender of one of its gates, and adding that in case the An-ting gate was not handed over to our possession by that time our batteries would open fire upon the walls.

A reconnaissance was made by Sir Hope Grant and General Montauban of the northern face of the city defences, during which our officers rode up to the edge of the ditch without being fired upon, although the walls were manned by the enemy, who held up white flags. A position was then selected for our breaching batteries, at about six hundred yards to the east of the An-ting gate. The guns were to be placed within the high wall which surrounded the "Te-tsu" or "Temple of the Earth," and to be disposed as follows. The four 8-inch guns to make a breach between the second and third square flanking towers east of the gate; two Armstrong guns (12-pounders) to play also upon the breach,

whilst two others fired down the road leading to the gate; two more to be in reserve. A battery of 9-pounders to counter-batter. Our mortars to play upon the breach. Our guns were simply placed upon wooden platforms laid down behind the massive brick walls of the temple; small magazines were constructed with lean-to's against the wall. The French had no regular breaching guns, but they hoped to make their heaviest field battery serve instead. They constructed their batteries to our left, and at about sixty yards' distance from the walls; our guns being larger were to be 198 yards from them. Small trenches were dug in advance for infantry, from which a rifle fire was to be maintained upon the Chinese gunners and the breach. The small suburb in front of the gate, and only about a hundred yards distant from it, was loopholed for musketry, and all necessary arrangements were made for reassuming the offensive in the event of our proffered terms being refused. Our interpreters had several interviews with Hang-ki, upon the 10th, 11th, and 12th October, when he spoke confidently of everything being arranged amicably.

Upon the 12th October Lord Elgin received a letter from the Prince of Kung, in answer to the summons sent him in the names of the allied Commanders-in-Chief, with whom he said that he did not wish to commence a correspondence, having hitherto been in the habit of writing to the ambassador direct. He signified his willingness to accede to all that we had demanded, but shilly-shallied about giving up a gate, saying that as such was always in charge of high officers, their withdrawal from the post might lead to the

introduction of ill-disposed and disorderly people within the city: he was consequently desirous of ascertaining the measures which Lord Elgin proposed as a precaution against such an occurrence. This was simply an effort to throw difficulties in the way of our taking a gate of the city. He wrote as if peace had been already concluded: an old trick in Chinese diplomacy. By Sir Hope Grant's order, proclamations were posted up in the suburbs and other places which we could reach with safety, warning the inhabitants of Pekin, that, unless their rulers made peace by noon upon the 13th October and the An-ting gate were handed over into our possession, we should open fire upon the walls, in the event of which the people were advised to clear out of the city. Upon the night of the 12th all our arrangements for opening fire upon the following day were completed, and our embrasures unmasked. Mr. Parkes with a suitable escort met Hang-ki at ten A.M. upon the following day. He tried hard to get off giving up the gate, or even to postpone doing so; but Mr. Parkes was inexorable. Noon drew near, and the gate was still held by the Chinese. The artillery officers in charge of our batteries commenced getting everything ready for opening fire; the guns were sponged out and run back for loading, with the gunners standing to their guns waiting for the orders to commence. A few minutes before twelve o'clock the An-ting-mun was thrown open, and its defences surrendered to Major-General Sir Robert Napier, whose division was on duty close by. Our troops took immediate possession, the French marching in after us. In a few minutes afterwards the Union Jack was floating from the walls of

Pekin, the far-famed celestial capital, the pride of China, and hitherto esteemed impregnable by every soul in that empire. We took possession of the walls extending from the An-ting gate to the Tih-shing-mun, the French holding the space to the left from the An-ting-mun to the south-east corner of the city. Our engineers at once placed the post in a defensible state, to resist any attack from within the city, and field guns were mounted upon the walls so as to command the interior approaches to the gate.

By the evening of the 16th October the remains of all our ill-fated countrymen and comrades had been sent in to our camp, with the exception of Captain Brabazon's, of whom, as of the Abbé de Luc, the Chinese authorities said they knew nothing. Sir Hope Grant determined upon giving them a military funeral, and lending to the ceremony every possible importance, so as to impress upon the inhabitants of the place, not only our sorrow for their loss, but the great estimation we put upon the lives of our compatriots. General Ignatieff, the Russian ambassador in China, called upon the Commander-in-Chief and most civilly offered us permission to bury our dead in the Russian cemetery, near the An-ting gate of the city, which was gladly accepted. The bodies reached our camp in rough coffins, upon which attempts had been made to render the name of each in Chinese characters. English names, however, for the most part defy any such Chinese translation; so that it was only with great difficulty that we could recognise them individually, as all were in a state of decomposition and their mouldering clothes were the only real clues we had to go by. Upon the

morning of the 17th October the funeral took place. The procession consisted of a troop of the King's Dragoon Guards, a troop of Fane's Horse, an officer and twenty men of each infantry regiment, and the band of the 60th Rifles. All the officers of our army and a large proportion of French officers attended in full uniform. The attachés of the Russian embassy also joined the procession. The Commander-in-Chief and Lord Elgin were the chief mourners. The service was performed by the Rev. R. J. M'Ghee.

The funeral of the murdered Frenchmen took place some few days subsequently, in the Jesuit burial-ground, which is to the west of the city, Sir Hope Grant and a large number of our staff and other officers attending it.

CHAP. XI.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN LORD ELGIN AND THE PRINCE OF KUNG. — DESTRUCTION OF THE SUMMER PALACES BY THE BRITISH ARMY. — DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY AROUND HAI-TEEN. — INDEMNITY PAID BY THE CHINESE. — RECONNAISSANCES IN THE VICINITY OF THE CITY. — LORD ELGIN'S STATE ENTRY INTO PEKIN. — HIS INTERVIEW WITH THE PRINCE OF KUNG. — RATIFICATION OF THE TIEN-TSIN TREATY. — PREPARATIONS FOR THE DEPARTURE OF THE ARMY FROM PEKIN. — MARCH TO TIEN-TSIN.

Upon the 17th October Lord Elgin wrote to the Prince of Kung, stating that when Sir Hope Grant had written to him upon the 10th of the month, demanding possession of the An-ting Gate, and naming the terms upon which he was willing to spare Pekin, he was then ignorant of the barbarous treatment which had been practised upon our countrymen, who had been treacherously taken prisoners by them; and that his letter had been written under a belief in their safety, to which his Highness had pledged himself in many of his despatches. Since the date of that letter we had ascertained that one half of the total number captured had been barbarously murdered under the most inhuman treatment.

This deceit, practised upon us by his Highness, amply justified us in setting aside the conditions named in the general's letter, and under which the An-ting Gate had

been surrendered ; but from an anxiety for the safety of the people, and an unwillingness to visit their rulers' offences upon them, Lord Elgin said that he was still ready to make peace, which, he begged to remind the Prince, had not been as yet concluded, and which he had in all communications with him, subsequent to the 18th September, declared to be impossible, until the British subjects, captured when under a flag of truce, had been sent back to us. The terms upon which his Lordship would make peace were, that the sum of 300,000 taels should be handed over to us by the 22nd October, to be distributed at her Majesty's discretion amongst those who had suffered and the families of those who had been murdered. As a further expiation of the foul crime of which the Chinese Government had been guilty, it was intended, and at once, utterly to destroy all that remained of Yuen-ming-yuen, within the precincts of which several of the British captives had been "subjected to the grossest indignities." This did not require his Highness's assent, as those palaces were within our power. That before the 20th of that current month, the Prince should inform Lord Elgin, in writing, that he was willing to sign the convention, and exchange the ratification of the Tien-tsin treaty on the 23rd. As owing to the late date to which operations had been prolonged, it was necessary to provide for a portion of our army remaining at Tien-tsin, the Prince was informed that an addition was to be made to the convention, providing for such an arrangement, and entitling us to keep our army at that port, until the whole of the indemnity required by the convention should

be paid to us. His Highness was reminded that all the customs' revenue at Canton was collected by us, and paid over to the Imperial treasury; that Shanghai was alone prevented from falling into the possession of the rebels by the allied forces stationed there; and that the grain junks carrying rice to the north were allowed to pass through our fleets unmolested. This state of things would at once cease if his Highness should refuse the terms then finally offered for acceptance, and the allies would, in that case, indemnify themselves, through the above-mentioned sources, for the expenses they had been put to. Such were the terms upon which it was alone possible to avert the doom hanging over the reigning Mantchoo dynasty. This last allusion must have had powerful effect upon all who read it and were attached to the existing government of the empire; for, at that moment, the rebel forces were reported to be within a hundred miles of Pekin, for which place they were marching. Rumours of their progress and numerous victories were openly commented upon by the Pekin citizens, who naturally considered their approach, and our hostile presence, as parts of a preconcerted arrangement and plan of operations.

Upon the 18th October, the 1st division, under the command of Major-General Sir John Michel, marched from our camp near Pekin to Yuen-ming-yuen, and set fire to all the royal palaces which lay scattered about in that neighbourhood. Throughout the whole of that day and the day following a dense cloud of black and heavy smoke hung over those scenes of former magnificence.

A gentle wind, blowing from the north-west, carried the mass of smoke directly over our camp into the very capital itself, to which distance even large quantities of the burnt embers were wafted, falling about the streets in showers, as silent but unmistakeable evidences of the work of destruction and retribution going on in the palace of the Emperor. In passing between our camp and Yuen-ming-yuen, upon both of those days, the light was so subdued by the overhanging clouds of smoke, that it seemed as if the sun was undergoing a lengthened eclipse. The world around looked dark with shadow.

The destruction of the palaces appears to have struck the Pekin authorities with awe. It was the stamp which gave an unmistakeable reality to our work of vengeance, proving that Lord Elgin's last letter was no idle threat, and warning them of what they might expect in the capital itself, unless they accepted our proffered terms. The Imperial palace within the city still remained untouched, and if they wished to save that last remaining palace for their master, it behoved them to lose no time. I feel convinced that the burning of Yuen-ming-yuen considerably hastened the final settlement of affairs, and strengthened our ambassador's position. Our allies, who had looted all and destroyed some of the buildings of that place, objected to our putting the *coup de grâce* to their work. It was averred that the complete destruction of the palaces would be a Gothlike act of barbarism. It seems strange that this idea did not occur to the generally quick perceptions of our Gallic allies before they had shorn the place of all its beauty and ornament,

by the removal or reckless destruction of everything that was valuable within its precincts, leaving us, indeed, little more than the bare shell of the buildings on which to wreak our vengeance for the cruelties practised therein upon our ill-fated countrymen.

By the evening of the 19th October, the summer palaces had ceased to exist, and in their immediate vicinity, the very face of nature seemed changed: some blackened gables and piles of burnt timbers alone indicating where the royal palaces had stood. In many places the inflammable pine trees near the buildings had been consumed with them, leaving nothing but their charred trunks to mark the site. When we first entered the gardens they reminded one of those magic grounds described in fairy tales; we marched from them upon the 19th October, leaving them a dreary waste of ruined nothings. The burning of the palaces was an act of vengeance pre-eminently calculated to fulfil all the purposes which circumstances required. The people themselves were at all times most friendly towards us, and have but little affection for the ruling dynasty. Their rulers alone were answerable for the murder of the prisoners which they had taken. To have required a very large sum of money as a reparation for that crime, would have been a punishment which must eventually have fallen principally upon the people, and their ability to pay any such largely increased demand was highly problematical. To have demanded that those who had actually caused the death of our murdered comrades should be delivered over to us for punishment, would have led only to some few petty and perhaps innocent officials being sent to us, whom

it would have been as difficult to convict as it would have been unjust to punish.

Sang-ko-lin-sin was really of all others most responsible for the crime for which we sought reparation, but to have demanded his surrender to us for trial would have been asking for what every one knew the Chinese Government would not, and perhaps could not, grant. Lord Elgin's knowledge of human nature, and of Chinese dispositions in particular, pointed out to him the only really substantial method then within his power of taking vengeance for the crime in question. The great vulnerable point in a Mandarin's character lies in his pride, and the destruction of Yuen-ming-yuen was the most crushing of all blows which could be levelled at his Majesty's inflated notions of universal supremacy. His property was deemed as sacred as his person, so much so, that when the French first approached the palace gates upon the 6th October, the few eunuchs who remained there as the sole guard of the place rushed out to meet our allies, calling out to them, "Don't commit sacrilege, don't come within the sacred precincts of his Majesty's palace." As such was the commonly received notion regarding everything belonging to the Emperor, the destruction of his favourite residence was the strongest proof of our superior strength; it served to undeceive all Chinamen in their absurd conviction of their monarch's universal sovereignty.

In order that the greatest possible publicity might be given to our reasons for destroying Yuen-ming-yuen, proclamations in Chinese were prepared by our interpreters, and posted up in all public places to which we

had access. This prevented the authorities from giving a false colouring to our actions, as they would no doubt have otherwise endeavoured to spread abroad the impression of our having destroyed that place simply for the sake of plunder.

Whilst the work of demolition was going on, we had ample opportunity of inspecting the country around the palaces and that lying between them and the hills, which, as offshoots from the high range of Thibet, abut upon the plains near Yuen-ming-yuen. A well-kept paved road extends from the principal palace to that known as the Golden Palace, a distance of about three miles. It passes for some distance along the bank of a dried-up canal, the sides of which were tastefully adorned with ornamental rockery, which forms such an essential feature in all Chinese landscape gardening. Upon each side of the canal there were high embankments of earth covered with cedar and pine trees, and here and there some little grotto of stonework. After leaving Yuen-ming-yuen, and when proceeding to the Golden Palace, our road at first wound through a series of small official residences standing within walled enclosures and small parks; and then, passing over several grotesquely-built stone bridges, it crossed a number of little canals, some completely dry, others filled only with stagnant water, and almost covered up with water lilies and rushes. The remains of what were once, no doubt, very pretty little cascades testify to the care taken in the embellishment of the place and to the poverty of the present government, which has allowed them to become what they are. Some fine joss-houses or temples lay scattered about, the rich colour-

ing of which contrasted well with the dark green foliage of the cedars. At the distance of about a mile along this paved road stood one of the entrances to the Wan-show-yuen, a palace situated upon a hog's-back-like hill overlooking a fine lake. This hill was enclosed by a high park wall, the space within being tastefully laid out with gardens, shrubberies and plantations, having tea-houses scattered about,— some perched upon rocky knolls commanding good views of the surrounding country, others almost hidden by the dense foliage of the trees, with terraces and flights of steps leading down to the water's edge. Crowning the highest point of the hill was the only building, of all the palaces, constructed exclusively of stone, and consequently the only one upon which the general conflagration took but little effect.

The view from this building was charming. Stretching away from it in the direction of Pekin there was a most substantial and well-finished embankment faced all over with slabs of cut granite. It was built for the purpose of damming up the waters of the streams which poured down from the hills, so as to form the various lakes and artificial ponds, constituting such an important feature in the landscape there. By this means the water was always at a much higher level than the ground upon which Pekin stood, so that a good water supply was at all seasons thus provided for the citizens of that city. Jutting out from this dam into the lake, at about half a mile's distance from the Wan-show gardens, was a long bridge with seventeen arches of beautiful proportions, richly decorated with stone carvings and balustradings, and leading to a small island upon which

stood a water-palace closely surrounded with trees, the picturesque gables and upturned roofs of which were faithfully reflected in the calm water beneath. Standing upon the dam at the end of the bridge was a wooden building supported upon pillars, with all the sides open, and seemingly intended merely as a resting-place in which the wearied wanderer might find shelter from the sun during a temporary halt. Close by there was the representation, in bronze, of a cow in a recumbent position, so truly lifelike, that all who saw it mistook it for a veritable animal until they had actually approached it.

The edge of the lake beneath the Wan-show palaces was laid out in terraces, one rising above the other, the lowest one washed by the water, and having a balustrading of small stone pillars extending along its entire length. Handsome flights of stairs led down from it to the lake, at some of which were boat-houses for the protection of the imperial barges.

Upon leaving the Wan-show-yuen the road passes under a low stone archway, beyond which for about the next half mile it is lined on both sides with shops. They end upon the bank of an insignificant little river, over which the road crosses by an old masonry bridge, the parapet walls of which were sadly ruinous, but exhibited traces of considerable beauty and elaborate carving. This stream is one of the many feeders of the lakes, into the largest of which it discharges itself close by the bridge. Upon its opposite bank is the village of Tsung-lung-cheaou, called after the bridge itself, through which the paved road passes, and debouching from which it winds round between some undulating ground upon

the right, and the low inundated fields upon the left, which extend to the margin of a series of small lakes in that direction. For the distance of a mile beyond the bridge the road is closely lined upon the right hand with farmhouses and enclosures, the country further back still in that direction being thickly studded with small villages and groups of Tartar barracks, which are very numerous. The paved road ends at the gates of the Golden Palace, which lies at the foot of a small hill, detached from all the others, and which is included within the park walls surrounding the palace itself. Standing upon the highest point of this hill is a tall white pagoda, which forms the great landmark of the locality, and from whence the finest view is to be had of the many palaces and gardens of Hai-teen, by which name the entire place is generally known. The pagoda resembles most others met with everywhere in the empire. It is ascended by a winding staircase, but has none of those projecting balconies common in such buildings generally. Looking out from it, the eye wanders over as fair and lovely a scene as can well be imagined. The thickly-wooded parks of the palaces are shown off to the best advantage by the intervening lakes and numerous ponds within them. The little islands, wooded to the water's edge, send out their tremulous, wavy reflections along the glass-like lakes; here and there the oddly-shaped spires and minarets of a summer-house peer above the variegated foliage, whilst the neglected temples from their half-ruinous condition add much to the scenic effect; and, lastly, may be seen buildings of all sizes, from joss-houses of the most stately proportions with their many courtyards and richly ornamented roofs, down to

the tiniest of roadside sanctuaries, nestling here and there amidst clumps of trees, and resembling more closely a child's baby-house than an edifice intended for the worship of some idol.

Beyond the precincts of the royal grounds the country looked richly cultivated, dotted over with farm-houses and Tartar villages, the homes of the several banners by whom the military duties of the place were performed, and the guards furnished for his Majesty's protection during his residence at the Summer Palace. These villages were mostly built with all the regularity of barracks. To the north was a range of hills, bold in outline, upon which plantations and patches of cultivation seemed to contest possession with stony slopes and rugged cliffs. The commanding points of these hills were crowned with imposing looking buildings of castellated style and essentially un-Chinese in appearance. Far off to the north-east was a conically shaped hill, with a fortified military post upon it. To the west were the palaces of Tsain-tai extending up the sides of the Sian mountains, which stretch away south from the principal range. Between those palaces and the Kin-ming-yuen a well-built aqueduct extended, by means of which the gardens of the Golden Palace were supplied with water. The massive gate towers of Pekin, and its several pagodas and cupolas, with (in some places) a small extent of the walls themselves, bounded the view to the south-east, completing the panorama. Taken as a whole, that is, including all the palaces and adjoining gardens, Hai-teen was certainly well suited for the residence of a monarch ruling over such a great nation. Chinamen may well have

reckoned it the alpha and omega of all that was lovely on earth, leaving nothing to be wished for according to their notions of what is beautiful and magnificent.

Generation after generation of emperors had added to its works of art and artificial beauty. From thence mighty kings have issued their commands to the widest empire ever yet ruled by any one man; but the very gorgeousness of the scene has been one great promoting cause of the luxury and effeminacy which have served to debase the late rulers of China, causing the descendants of fierce warriors to degenerate into mere enervated debauchees, alike incapable of wielding the sword themselves or commanding in the field those who could. After a childhood passed in the seclusion of such palaces, the greatest exercise allowed being a daily stroll amidst the luxurious gardens around, it is scarcely to be wondered at that the royal heir should grow up into an indolent, dreamy, and unpractical manhood. After being assured from earliest childhood that he was immeasurably superior to all other human beings, and but little removed from Deity itself, it is no strange matter that such a monarch should believe his absolute power to be as much a part of himself as his hands or feet, or, in fact, as indisputable as his very existence. Sir Henry Pottinger's treaty was the first historical fact which must have caused some suspicion to cross the Imperial mind as to the reality of his universal sovereignty, by proving that there was a Western nation able to dictate terms to the Chinese Government. Such knowledge, however, came too late. It fell upon insensible ears, which knew not how to profit by the

lesson we had taught them. They persisted in resting upon the history of their former greatness, refusing to believe that they were far behind us in the art or appliances of war, and attributing their defeat to any but the true causes. Possessing within the confines of their vast empire every requisite essential for the formation of powerful armies, with great internal wealth and an overteeming population of brave, active, and intelligent people, they, *par excellence* the greatest of all copyists under heaven, were too obstinate or too stupid to adopt our arms or military organisation; and, indeed, as far as we know, even to appreciate the advantages of muskets over cross-bows, or of discipline over disorder.

Upon the evening of the 19th October the Prince of Kung's answer to Lord Elgin's ultimatum of the 17th of that month reached our camp. In it his Highness humbly declared himself willing to perform all we had demanded. In answer to a letter from Sir Hope Grant, requesting that Captain Brabazon might be accounted for, the Prince stated that he could not give any information about him or the Abbé de Luc, as he knew nothing whatever of them.

Between the 19th and 23rd October frequent meetings took place between the officers of our embassy and the Chinese authorities, during which all the points regarding the etiquette to be observed at the grand conference of the plenipotentiaries was agreed upon. The 300,000 taels of indemnity money was paid into our commissariat treasure chest upon the evening of the 22nd. It had been at first arranged that the convention, &c. &c., was to be signed the following

day, but as there was a considerable amount of writing to be got through in preparing the treaties, both in Chinese and English, the meeting was postponed until the 24th October.

Rumours were afloat that a large army was assembling to the west of Pekin, and treacherous intentions were attributed to the Prince of Kung by general consent, the reports coming from Chinese sources. It was said that our ambassador was to be inveigled into the city, and then murdered, &c. &c. Every Chinaman is a newsmonger by nature ; and, if we may judge from the number of stories current daily in Pekin during our stay in its vicinity, they prefer false intelligence to none at all. Reconnoitring parties of our cavalry made daily explorations into the country around our camp, so that no large army could well be assembled near us without the circumstance coming to our knowledge. Owing to the rumour of a large camp being established to the west of Pekin, our cavalry patrolled in that direction upon the 22nd October, and during their march came suddenly upon an entrenched position, close to the city walls, near the point where the Tartar and Chinese cities unite. There was apparently a considerable force within the works, which turned out as our cavalry approached, not knowing what was our intention. A Mandarin came up to ask us what we wanted. Major Probyn, who commanded the party, brought him to our camp, for the purpose of gaining some information from him, as he appeared a sharp fellow. He stated that Mr. Parkes's capture was an act of premeditated revenge for the seizure of the prefect at Tien-tsin by Sir Robert Napier. The cir-

cumstances under which that seizure was made are as follows : — Shortly after the main part of our force had left Tien-tsin, Sir Robert Napier found the Chinese authorities far from civil, and very averse to afford us any assistance in collecting carriage or supplies for our troops. The prefect of the city was the chief person there. He was ordered to present himself at the English general's tent ; but he failed to do so. He had, however, most thoroughly mistaken the man he had to deal with. Sir Robert Napier's long experience in India, had taught him the only true method by which Asiatics can be managed ; which is determination, backed by sufficient force to carry out all declared intentions. Acting upon this principle, a party was sent into Tien-tsin, with orders to bring out the refractory mandarin, who protested loudly against the proceeding, but was obliged to yield. He was treated with all possible courtesy, and lodged in a tent next the general's ; and our ability to enforce compliance with all demands which we might make upon him, and our evident determination to use force, if necessary, having been thus clearly impressed upon him and the other civic authorities of the place, he was released.

The Prince of Kung, who had been residing at some distance from Pekin, happened to be on his way into the city, when our cavalry made their appearance at the entrenched camp. Weak nerves and a guilty conscience caused him to couple their presence, between him and the capital, with some treacherous design upon his person. No doubt he thought that we were desirous of avenging our murdered countrymen, by punishing him. He at once, therefore, took fright, and

bolted back in the direction from which he had started, not deeming himself safe until he had placed about twenty miles between himself and us. He wrote to General Ignatieff that evening, asking what we were aiming at, and seemed evidently nervous about his personal safety.

At one o'clock, P.M., upon the 24th October, Lord Elgin started from our camp for Pekin, where it had been arranged that the meeting between him and the Prince of Kung was to take place. Every possible military precaution had been previously taken to guard against any treachery upon the part of the Chinese. An officer of the Quartermaster-General's department had been sent into the city the preceding evening, for the purpose of examining the building in which the conference was to be held. It was very improbable that any treachery would be attempted; but as rumours were afloat that infernal machines had been prepared to blow up our ambassador and his party, it would have been highly culpable, after so many recent instances of Chinese ill-faith, to disregard any attainable precaution, or to fail in providing for all possible contingencies. Had any misfortune occurred to Lord Elgin, the blame of such would have fallen upon the Commander-in-Chief. It seemed to be a general impression amongst all who were acquainted with China but upon whom no responsibility would have rested in the event of any treachery being practised, that the display of a large force within Pekin might so frighten the timid Prince of Kung and his advisers, that they would all suspect us of similar motives, and fly from the place, or in other words, that our military precau-

tions against treachery would be construed into intended treachery on our part by the suspicious Chinese.

The 2nd division was skilfully disposed by Sir R. Napier along the line of march to be taken by the procession through the city, so that all avenues of approach leading to it were commanded by our troops. An escort of 100 cavalry and 400 infantry, together with a numerous retinue of officers from all corps, accompanied Lord Elgin for his immediate protection. It was a fine day, bright and warm, there being no wind to drive the dust about, and the sun shining pleasantly, showing off the soldiers' uniforms and appointments to the best advantage. His Lordship travelled in a sedan chair of large proportions, painted red, and hung about with long streaming tassels of many colours, after the most approved Chinese fashion. Eight Chinese coolies, decked out in gorgeous scarlet clothing, carried the chair.

A military procession is at all times an imposing sight; but it is seldom that so many circumstances combine to give it effect and importance, as upon that occasion. The representative of our sovereign, surrounded by a crowd of soldiers, so lately victorious in the field, marching into a great city which had just capitulated to us, for the purpose of obtaining a public admission of our national superiority and a concession of all those demands which we had made before the war commenced—was a circumstance truly gratifying to all who took part in it, and a very just source of pride to every British subject. The inhabitants of the place thronged in upon all sides to see the "barbarians" in their triumphal march; all were civil and respectful.

The presence of a large body of troops marching with confidence through the capital, with colours flying, bands playing, and every outward sign of victory, must have, indeed, impressed all with the reality of their own defeat. I believe that the military display then made will have far more important and beneficial influence in our future dealings with China than all the treaties now ratified or that may be hereafter concluded. The fame of it will be the best relative security, which our merchants residing at the ungarrisoned ports could have. It was an undeniable assertion of our victory, and will be a warning to Imperial officials in their intercourse with our authorities, causing them to hesitate before they again subject their far-famed seat of government to the presence of an armed force within its walls. Our ability to take vengeance for all breaches of faith, thus convincingly established, will, I have every reason to hope, be the means of stopping for ever those acts of arrogance, insolence and oppression to which our mercantile communities at Canton and elsewhere have been subjected, in the absence of any force to prevent them, and which have been the immediate cause of all the warlike operations carried on by foreigners in China since 1838.

The procession entered the city by the An-ting gate, where a strong reserve of troops was posted. In case of any treachery being attempted, three guns were to have been fired from thence as a signal for the 1st division to leave camp and march into the city. As the Hall of Audience, in which the Prince of Kung was to meet Lord Elgin, lay in the southern quarter of the Tartar city, our procession had to pass directly through

its entire length, a distance of about three miles and a half. A straight street led direct from the An-ting gate south towards the Chinese city, along which our column proceeded, turning sharp towards the west as we approached the wall dividing the Chinese from the Tartar city. Following that direction for about half a mile, we entered the narrow street in which most of the public offices stood. They were all prettily built, very much alike, and with but little to distinguish them from any of the many temples or official buildings met with elsewhere. They were in a most dilapidated condition, some looking as if they might tumble down at any moment, and one had already done so,— it was the Board of Finance ; and the unsightly heap of ruins, into which it had sunk, might be taken as a fair indication of national financial prospects. As we entered the high wooden portals of the Hall of Audience, it was most amusing to watch the vigorous efforts made by the city police to keep back the inquisitive crowd that pressed in, with all the eagerness of London cockneys upon Lord Mayor's day, to catch even a passing glimpse of the show. The Chinese police are certainly A 1 at such work, and use their heavy thong-whips unmercifully upon the shoulders and backs of all who do not obey them quickly. Having passed through two courtyards, we found ourselves opposite a spacious hall, of which the side nearest to us as we approached was completely open. Lord Elgin's guard of honour drew up on one side of the court, presenting arms as his Lordship passed on.

His sedan chair was put down at the edge of the carpet spread upon the hall, and, as he entered, the

Prince advanced to meet him, making a stiff bow and shaking his own hands vigorously, after the ordinary manner of Chinese etiquette. Both of the national representatives then moved slowly towards the chairs which had been prepared for them, each seeming to eye the other narrowly, lest by some sudden movement he might get the least in advance. They appeared willing to treat each other as equals, but not as superiors.

Upon reaching their respective chairs, it was of great importance that both should sit down exactly at the same moment: a feat which was most satisfactorily accomplished.

The room in which the conference took place resembled exactly the principal apartment of a temple from which the hideous idols had been removed. A sort of thick red felting had been laid down instead of carpets. Lamps of all sizes and shapes were hung up around, with, in some places, insignificant attempts at decorations in the shape of drapery and long scrolls of ornamented paper.

The English officers were provided with seats upon the right of the hall as we entered; the Chinese officials upon the side opposite. In front of Lord Elgin, Sir Hope Grant, and a few others, there were small tables; the Prince of Kung and his principal officers being similarly accommodated.

The Prince was of middle stature, his face cleanly shaven, with a naturally high forehead, which looked still loftier from the manner in which he wore his turned-up mandarin hat, far back upon his shaven crown. His features were good, being far more regular

than is usual with Chinamen, but his eyes were small and on a level with his forehead, which is the great peculiarity of the race, who may almost be said to have no eyelids and very small apertures for their eyeballs to appear through. He looked round upon the assembled "barbarians" almost with a scowl; but this supercilious sneering expression may have partly resulted from his most strangely set eyes. He was dressed in mandarin robes, the only peculiarity in his clothes being that there were figures of the Imperial dragon embroidered upon his sleeves and shoulders, and that instead of a coral or other button upon the top of his hat, he wore only a small twisted knot, made of scarlet silk, very much like that upon the Emperor's cap, found on his bed in the Summer Palace. It is most difficult to give an accurate estimate of his age from his face, as the absence of all hair upon it gave him a youthful air, which, however, was contradicted, upon examining him more closely, by a worn-out expression indicative of debauchery, so very common with Asiatic potentates. He might have been, in fact, any age from twenty up to five and thirty, and I believe that his exact number of years was a mean between those two figures. He looked a boy, as well as a gentleman, amongst the crowd of bilious, bloated, small-pock-marked, and hideous-looking faces of the mandarins who surrounded him, and with whom he frequently took counsel during the course of the proceedings. A very young man, unless of royal birth, seldom holds any great office of importance in China; and as rank is to be had either by purchase or competitive examination, it is frequently enjoyed by the very com-

monest of the people. On this account many of the mandarins are ill-bred in manners, and have none of that easy air or those fine features, the birthright of gentle blood, which in most countries generally characterise the governing classes. I do not remember having ever seen a less pleasing-looking collection of mortals assembled in one place than was grouped around the Prince of Kung upon that occasion.

At all such ceremonies of state, a banquet, after business is concluded, forms a part of the programme; but as the inspection of the Prince of Kung's "power to treat," and the signing of the convention and ratification of the old treaty had occupied a considerable time, Lord Elgin declined partaking of it. Tea of the usual hot-water-tasting properties was, however, handed round during the ceremony.

Everything being satisfactorily concluded, the meeting was broken up, the same formalities being gone through at leave-taking as had been observed at the opening of the conference, the Prince accompanying Lord Elgin from his seat to the edge of the carpet, where his Lordship's chair stood ready for his reception.

It was late in the evening before we got back to camp, and although the "Board of Works" had taken some trouble in watering the streets, yet the dust was so deep upon them that the upper surface only was affected by it; consequently, the number of men and horses passing over it soon caused the dust to rise in dense masses, covering every one of our party.

Orders had been previously despatched to Shanghai for Mr. Bruce, the English minister there, who was to remain in China as our representative after Lord

Elgin's departure. He was directed to proceed to Pekin with all speed, so that, if possible, he might be introduced to the Prince of Kung before Lord Elgin left. By Article IX. of the Pekin Convention, it was agreed that the convention should receive the Imperial sanction by the publication of a decree, for which it was necessary to send to Jeho, where his Majesty had taken up his residence. As nine or ten days must have elapsed before an answer could be returned from that place, it was determined to keep the army at Pekin until the 8th November, which was considered by the Commander-in-Chief as the latest date to which we could with safety remain there. The cold winter was setting in rapidly, and the roads in rear being unmetalled, no reliance could be placed upon them in bad weather. About the 10th October, the weather changed perceptibly, the nights being intensely cold, and biting winds rendering even the days far from pleasant for those under canvas. All native reports led us to believe that the ice set in upon the river towards the beginning of November; and as we had to depend greatly upon it for transport purposes, to have remained beyond the 8th of that month at Pekin would have been a highly dangerous experiment. Upon the 22nd October our siege train was sent off to Tien-tsin, for which place Colonel Mackenzie, our Quartermaster General, started to get everything ready there for the reception of the garrison which it was intended to leave there for the winter, and for the embarkation of the remaining part of our army for home and India. All our sick and heavy stores were sent by carts to Tung-chow, where they were placed in boats and sent

down the river to Tien-tsin, making the journey in three days.

Baron Gros having signed the French treaty upon the 25th October, General Montauban left Pekin upon the 1st November with his army, leaving one battalion behind for Baron Gros's protection.

Upon the 27th October Lord Elgin moved from camp into the city, where the Prince of I's residence had been fitted up for his reception. Visits of ceremony were exchanged between him and the Prince of Kung, who improved upon acquaintance. He talked hopefully of the future, and seemed to consider that the direct communication henceforward to be maintained by our minister in China with the Pekin Government would conduce to a friendliness of intercourse, and prevent those bickerings and misunderstandings which had formerly taken place so frequently between the servants of the two nations. He even discussed the advisability of a Chinese ambassador being sent to England. The notification of the convention having received the Imperial sanction was made to Lord Elgin upon the 2nd November, and the treaty and it were immediately published in the Pekin "Gazette."

Mr. Bruce reached Pekin upon the 7th November, and was introduced to the Prince of Kung.

It was arranged that, until a suitable residence could be prepared for the British embassy, Mr. Bruce should reside at Tien-tsin, where Baron Gros had directed M. de Bourboulon, the French minister, to reside for the winter. In order, however, to accustom the Chinese authorities to the presence of our officials within the capital, and to prevent them from imagining that we

intended to concede the long disputed question of residence there, Mr. Adkins of the Consular Service was left in Pekin to superintend the arrangements necessary for the establishment of our diplomatic mission there in the spring following.

Before the departure of our army from Pekin, the winter had set in very severely. There were several days of heavy rain, with hard frost every night. Cold northerly winds rendered out-of-door life very disagreeable, and our native Indian followers were suffering severely in consequence. A considerable supply of blankets and warm clothing had arrived in camp upon the 21st October, which was immediately distributed amongst the troops. No army in the field has ever been healthier or better cared for in every respect than our troops before Pekin; the men looked well and happy. The commissariat, under the superintendence of Mr. Turner, deserves every credit for the manner in which we were supplied with all that we could expect. Fresh bread of the best quality was served out to us daily, and of beef and mutton there was abundance. Good markets had been established within the An-ting gate, where fruit and vegetables were procurable every day at a cheap rate. The most sickly regiment of our force was the 60th Rifles, which was composed chiefly of young soldiers. Its sick-list, however, never exceeded five per cent. The medical arrangements had been all through the campaign ably attended to by Dr. Muir, C.B., who, whilst most careful at all times for the comfort of those in his charge, was never carried away by unpractical ideas, which have become so

fashionable of late years with many of our medical officers.

Upon the 7th November the 2nd division under Sir Robert Napier left Pekin, the 1st division under Sir John Michel following the day after. The Commander-in-Chief accompanied the latter. A flotilla of boats kept pace upon the river with the army during its march, for the conveyance of any men falling sick, or in the event of any other casualties.

CHAP. XII.

DESCRIPTION OF PEKIN.

The word Pekin, or Pehchin, as the inhabitants pronounce it, carries with it so much that we in Europe have always been in the habit of associating with the wonderful, that it deserves a separate chapter to itself. Unfortunately our explorations about its neighbourhood were necessarily limited, as it was not considered safe to wander alone very far from our outposts, and when our cavalry patrols went out, it was not deemed advisable to proceed far down along the west of the city, there being a number of Chinese camps there, all entrenched. As collision with their soldiers was to be avoided if possible, visits to their locality were very few. It was always difficult to calculate upon the line of conduct which such semi-barbarous troops, ignorant of the usages of war, would adopt. Frequent reconnaissances were made, however, in all other directions by the officers of our Quartermaster-General's department. During our halt at Pekin the country in the neighbourhood of Hai-teen was much disturbed by banditti, who had no doubt assembled there in hopes of sharing in the plunder of the Royal residences. Frequent encounters took place between them and the native military authorities, who inflicted most summary

punishment upon those taken *flagrante delicto.* As many of the villagers near the summer palaces had carried off quantities of silks, &c., whilst they were being destroyed, the Mandarins were anxious to apprehend all such persons, their offence being unpardonable according to Chinese law. As I had frequent occasion to visit the neighbourhood of the summer palaces, after the departure of our allies from thence, I had fair opportunities of witnessing the disorder into which their neighbourhood had fallen.

The large village known as Hai-teen, through which the road to Yuen-ming-yuen passes, was infested with robbers, who were apparently helping themselves to the property of those who had fled from their homes upon our approach. A few of the more stout-hearted proprietors had remained to guard their chattels, between whom and the plundering rabble there seemed to be a never-ending stand-up fight. Lynch law was the order of the day. I saw the remains of several murdered men in the streets; and upon one occasion, when turning round the angle of a house, having been attracted there by the noise, I found two or three men standing over one upon the ground, whom they were in the act of killing, by beating in his head with a hammer, from which fate my party had some difficulty in saving him. Every night the report of musketry and field guns was heard by our guards in camp, and upon the night of the 31st October to such an extent that our allies turned out thinking that we had been attacked. I believe that most of such firing was occasioned by the Chinese watchmen and police, who make a practice of firing at night, so as to show all thieves that they are

not only awake, but well armed and ready for them. To the south of the city none of our patrols had ever penetrated, as the distance was so great from our camp that it would have been impossible to reconnoitre there with a suitable force and return in the same day.

Of the country in that direction we learnt from native sources that a very large inland lake lay due south of the city, in the numerous islands of which leopards, wild cats, and deer, are said to be very numerous. Operations had been prolonged to such a late period of the year, that when peace was at last signed there was no time for organising expeditions to explore that part of the country. In all other directions, however, the localities were closely examined, and maps made of them under the superintendence of Colonel Mackenzie. All the information which could be obtained was collected, so that in the event of any future operations being required in those regions our work will be much simplified.

The land is everywhere most carefully cultivated, and yields two abundant crops yearly, millet, Indian corn, beans, sweet potatoes, and a sort of cabbage being the principal produce. The total absence of pasture land strikes the eye of all who are accustomed to English farming as very peculiar. In all parts of China Proper, milk, butter, or cheese, are unappreciated dainties; and the Tartar soldiers, when serving out of their own native provinces, feel the loss of such commodities greatly, as, in the wild plains of Thibet, milk, sour curds, and a sort of clotted cream constitute their principal diet.

Between Pekin and the hills the country is thickly

dotted over with trees, which, with the numerous tombs and wide-spreading network of hollow roads, makes it difficult for the traveller to find his way about. There being few fences which a horse cannot get over, the best method to adopt in making a journey is to steer by a compass, straight over the fields, avoiding the hollow cart-tracks as much as possible, as from them all view of the country is difficult. Although the ground over which we passed in our fight of the 21st September was, as I have described, closely intersected with banks and wide ditches, there are but very few north of the Yu-liang-ho. The small villages in the neighbourhood of Pekin are mostly surrounded by a wattle and daub fence. The numerous farmhouses were similarly enclosed, the straw-yards, corn-stacks, and threshing-floors being all within the enclosures. Cattle-sheds, and good stabling for mules or ponies, were invariably attached to even the most unpretending of cottages, in which the animals are housed during winter, and fed upon the millet straw, chopped small and steeped before use in warm water: upon this food they thrive well.

As a rule, I think all in our army were disappointed with Pekin. For a considerable time previous to our arrival there every one had been drawing imaginary pictures in their minds as to what it was like. Those who had been for any number of years residing in "the flowery land," had been accustomed to hear Chinamen everlastingly referring to their capital in terms of the highest praise, describing it as little short of paradise, combining within its walls all that was lovely and magnificent. With the exception of some

Mandarins, few of those belonging to the southern provinces had ever visited the great northern capital; from earliest youth, however, every Chinaman is taught to believe it the greatest of all cities. Its importance is as much a part of his faith, as the worship which all offer to their ancestors. The story told about the first appearance of one of our steamers at Canton gives a fair example of the extent to which this feeling is carried. An English merchant pointing out the steamer to a Chinaman, said, rather exultingly, "Well, you have not got any vessels like that;"—to which answer was immediately made, "Ah, Canton no got, Pekin side plenty got, all same like." I have no doubt he really believed such to be the case, considering Pekin to be so immeasurably superior to all other places, that it was impossible any nation could possess anything not known there. Before we had encamped close to the city our expectations were sustained by the reports brought in daily by our reconnoitring parties, who talked of having seen the roofs of lofty palaces and curiously-shaped pagodas rising high above the walls. When our army had taken up a position close to the place, the massiveness of its defences, well kept and regularly built, served to keep up the illusion regarding the wonders within.

No vagary of fancy was ever more rudely dispelled than ours was when, upon the surrender of the An-ting gate, we gazed from thence over the streets and houses beneath. The dull monotony of colouring pervading all objects, and the sameness everywhere about, made all pronounce its appearance to be most unjustly praised.

Leading from the gate in a due southerly direction, was the wide street along which our procession marched upon the 24th October. It was about a hundred feet in width, and was well paved for the first couple of hundred yards, after which it was simply earth. In this respect the streets of the capital differ from those of most other Chinese cities, where they are generally narrow, and paved over with granite blocks. In Pekin only the spaces near the gates were so paved. Coal cinders are used in quantities upon the streets, each householder emptying out the ashes of his stove upon the space immediately before his dwelling. Without some such arrangement the mud in wet weather would be ankle deep. As soon as our troops had taken up their position in the An-ting gate, the crowds of people that swarmed in from all quarters of the city to gaze at us exceeded anything that I had ever previously witnessed: a perfect sea of heads stretched away up the broad street as far as we could see. The moving to and fro of these people caused such clouds of dust to arise, that, in some directions, the city was so enveloped by it that nothing was to be seen. The Chinese guard, aided by a number of city police, had much difficulty in keeping back the dense masses which, swaying to and fro, kept pressing down towards the gate. Active little French sentries kept jumping about, now here, now there, cursing, swearing, and laughing by turns, in their endeavours to keep the space clear near their guard. A rope was stretched across the street beyond which none were allowed to pass. The whole of that day the street remained choked up by people eager to gaze upon their "bar-

barian" conquerors. No ill-feeling was evinced by any, and all seemed to take the sharp blows from their own policemen's whips, and the numerous pokes in the ribs from our sentries, in the very best humour.

The streets are mostly laid out with mathematical exactness, all running due north and south, or east and west, as were also the city walls. Pekin is, in reality, two cities, only separated by the southern wall of the Tartar quarter. The southern one is the old Chinese town. It is four sided, the northern and southern faces being nearly five miles long, the eastern and western about two miles. The northern, or Tartar city, is nearly a square of four miles east and west, and three miles north and south. The north-western angle is, however, slightly rounded off. The rampart walls average from thirty-five to forty feet high, above which the parapet wall rises seven feet everywhere around. Upon the inside they are mostly some five or six feet higher, owing, I imagine, to the ground excavated from the ditches having been thrown up, upon the outside, against the walls. Their average thickness, at top, is sixty feet, the masonry having a slope of about one in eight. The parapet walls (there being one upon both sides of the rampart) are three feet thick and castellated at top, the soles of the embrasures being four feet above the terreplein of the rampart. In the centre of what would be with us the merlon, there is a small, square loophole, only about six inches above the foot of the parapet, from which the uncouth iron wall pieces, so common in all Chinese cities, are fired from carriages without any wheels, and unprovided with any means of depression or elevation. The terreplein of the ram-

parts sloped gently inwards, so as to carry off the rain. It was neatly paved over its entire length with square tiles of considerable thickness; beneath them was a stratum of very hard concrete, three feet thick,—all below it, as far as we could ascertain, being well-rammed earth and rubble. With the very limited number of our guns and ammunition I do not believe we should have succeeded in making a practicable breach through the walls. No doubt we should have brought down a sufficient quantity of the outer revetment to have enabled our men to scramble up with ladders, but to have made a breach up which a body of men could march, with the limited means at our disposal, I think was very problematical. In the event of its being ever necessary hereafter to assault Pekin, I am sure that most of those who examined the walls will agree with me in thinking that mining is the best method of opening out a road through its ponderous defences.

At each gateway and corner angle there is a high three-storeyed tower, thickly pierced with embrasures, but unprovided with guns. These towers are used as barracks, and, in order to keep out the cold air, the embrasures are closed up by wooden doors, upon the centre of each of which the representation of a cannon's muzzle has been painted, giving the building an imposing aspect when seen at some little distance.

These lofty towers, with their many embrasures, are well calculated to inspire all Chinamen with exaggerated ideas of their strength and importance. The reputation which Pekin had acquired throughout the empire for greatness and impregnability is, in a great

measure, attributable to the imposing features of its fortifications.

To a people ignorant of our modern appliances of war, such works would naturally appear capable of resisting for ever any efforts of a besieging force. They would have been similarly estimated by our ancestors of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. For hundreds of years the same weapons have been in use in China. Whilst western nations have been improving annually in all the appliances of offence and defence, the Chinese, carefully guarded in by an impenetrable barrier of self-conceit, have kept themselves aloof from all contact with other nations.

To such a bigoted exclusiveness her downfal and humiliation is greatly attributable.

In front of each gate there is a space of about a hundred yards square, enclosed by walls of similar dimensions to those of the enceinte. Through one of the side faces of it, the road is carried under a massive archway, so that every entrance to the city is protected by two lines of defence. Upon the inside a broad road runs round the city at the foot of the rampart. The ditch has been a fine one in its day; but the arrangements for supplying it with water have been allowed to fall into decay, like almost every other public work in China, so that at present it is fordable at most points, and in some places is only a few inches deep.

Within the Tartar city, and covering about a fourth of its entire space, is the "Imperial" or "Inner City," within which again is the palace, surrounded by a high and massive wall, with ditch, &c. &c. None of us were

allowed to enter the innermost enclosure ; but from all we could learn from the natives, I believe that his Majesty's city residence is in a very faded condition, all the money available for such purposes having been for many years past expended upon the summer palace of Yuen-ming-yuen. The space between the palace walls and those around the " Inner City," is covered with the houses of those about the court, and with barracks.

Scattered here and there were spots which had once been pleasure-grounds, or ponds of water, now completely neglected. An air of desolation was stamped upon everything, from the bell-shaped pagoda, which, standing upon a mound, marked the final resting-place of many sovereigns, to the smallest guard-room with its dilapidated chevaux-de-frise and arm-stands. There were numerous bridges, over what had once been well-kept canals, but which now were simply unsightly excavations, used as receptacles for filth and rubbish. In former times, when the public works were well attended to, Pekin was plentifully supplied with water by means of these canals, which were fed from the lakes at Hai-teen.

Numbers of temples, official residences belonging to the Princes, and public buildings, are situated in different parts of the Tartar city. They are mostly upon a larger scale than those I have seen in the southern provinces, but possess no other local peculiarity. All have a faded, uncared-for appearance.

The ordinary houses of the city are only one-storeyed, and built without any regard to uniformity. Those situated in the principal thoroughfares are of brick, with tiled roofs, whilst those in the remote quarters resemble the farmhouses of the surrounding country,

having mud walls and thatched roofs, all well plastered over with a coating of mud and chopped straw.

At some conspicuous places in the main streets, there were tumble-down looking archways, if such an Irishism is admissible in describing high-raised gateways, in whose design was no segment of a circle nor any curve, except what time had given to the wide-spanning beams which, in most instances, bend slightly downwards with their superincumbent weight of wood and stone. These had been originally constructed in memory of great men, or in commemoration of proud triumphs in days of Tartar renown. They seem to have changed with the times, serving now as emblems of national decay and public dishonour. One might almost fancy that they feel their altered destiny, and care no longer to rear erect the once straight and noble timbers of which they are constructed, but now lean in all directions, scared and bent, as if in shame for the descendants of those who raised them.

Barely two thirds of the space enclosed within the walls of the Chinese city is covered with houses, the remaining third being nearly all taken up by the gardens around the temples of "Heaven," and that in honour of the deities who preside over agriculture.

The enclosed space around the former is a square mile in extent, which is tastefully laid out in gardens and shrubberies. Both of these buildings are situated close by the Yun-ting gate, which is the centre one of the three in the southern face. They stand upon either side of the wide roadway running north and south through the Chinese city, dividing it into two equal portions.

Immediately within the southern face the ground has been but little built upon, and there are several large pieces of water there. The victorious Tartars, in adding on their city to the old Chinese town, took care that theirs should domineer over the latter, as they built their walls some ten feet higher, thus giving it the character of a keep. The Yu-liang-ho touches Pekin at the junction of the two cities, where it communicates with the ditch. From the point where it meets the city to the Che-ho gate, in the eastern face, a row of granaries extend underneath the walls between them and the ditch. In these the annual grain tribute was stored upon arrival by the canal. These buildings are now in a ruined state.

A considerable exodus of the inhabitants had taken place during the first two or three days of our occupation of the An-ting gate, but almost all had returned before our final departure, finding how strictly order was maintained amongst our troops. Before we retired from Pekin, all the shops which were at first closed, had reopened, and business was resumed in the usual manner. The numerous fur and curio shops were daily crowded by our officers, all anxious to obtain strange presents for their friends at home. The manner in which the Chinese tradesmen picked up words of "pidgeon English" was quite astonishing. In a very few days, even the little boys in the street came up offering articles for sale, and asking "how muchee." The attempts to make ourselves understood by signs were most amusing. Those who could draw found their art most useful in illustrating upon paper what they required, as the shopmen were most apt at com-

prehending even the roughest delineation of what was wanted. Upon entering a shop you had only to hold up your thumb with the other fingers closed, to indicate that you wished to see the first class things. All those with whom we had any dealings were civil and obliging, enjoying a joke, even when at their own expense, as well as any people I have ever met with.

Of course, like all Easterns, they invariably asked for every article about twice as much as they were prepared to take for it.

Of the female portion of the inhabitants we saw but few, none but the old and ugly showing themselves in the streets. Occasionally, however, during my rides through the city, I saw a woman's head peering through a window, or over a wall, at the "barbarian" as he passed. In appearance they resembled those I had seen elsewhere in the northern districts of the empire.

The Tartar women never cripple their feet like their Chinese sisters, and wear shoes like the men.

They are very fond of painting their faces, and powdering their necks and foreheads over with some stuff like flour.

The people live almost exclusively upon vegetable diet, their usual food being flour ground from millet or Indian corn, sweet potatoes, and a coarse sort of cabbage. Tea is their ordinary beverage: but Chinamen very seldom drink water. There is also a large consumption of a fiery sort of spirit made from millet; it is commonly known by the name of sam-shoo, and is sold for about threepence a pint. Pekin is much the cleanest Chinese city I have ever been in, and the air

is not loaded with those sickening stenches so general in most other places. The streets being wide, there is ever a free circulation of air around the houses.

The police seemed very numerous in the city, but there were few of those street barriers which abound in Canton and most of the important towns. Of the military force within Pekin we saw but little during our stay there, as all soldiers studiously avoided being seen in uniform.

There were not many guns mounted upon the walls, and the few which were, were massed along the eastern face, upon which they had all along expected us to attack.

Immediately opposite to where we had constructed our breaching batteries, they had lately mounted three very large guns. They were made of brass and were handsomely ornamented with carved mouldings.

The fact of their having been placed in position opposite our point of attack, proves how very undecided the authorities must have been even up to the very day of their surrendering a gate to us. They had vacillated up to the last moment, between their dread of opposing us, and their fears of bringing down upon their heads the Imperial displeasure if they should surrender without making some show of resistance. These fine guns were mounted upon such rotten carriages, that a few rounds must have rendered them unserviceable, and one was so bad that the wheels had broken down in placing it in position upon the walls. From the walls of Pekin a good view is to be had over the surrounding country. It is a strange phenomenon that everywhere the people seem well to do and prosperous, the land

being well tilled, and yet the ruling powers are always in financial difficulties.

Camels are used in large numbers for the carriage of produce and merchandise. Most of the coal used in Pekin is brought there upon camels. All the coal I saw was of a hard, anthracite description, requiring a considerable draught to burn well. It is mostly brought from some mines at about thirty miles distance from the city. It is used in great quantities during the winter, and is sold at a cheap rate. When beaten into dust and mixed with clay, it is made up into small balls for use in the stoves, and gives out great heat. Charcoal is dear, and consequently only used by the richer classes.

There are some very large bells in the city and temples near it, all well toned, and some beautifully ornamented. The largest is in a small joss-house, about half a mile from the north-west angle of the old ruined earthen entrenchment, lying to the north of the city, which I have already described. This bell is fifteen feet high, ten and a half feet in diameter, with a thickness of eight inches in the metal at its mouth. It is covered with inscriptions in the Chinese characters, and richly embossed at top, where it is fastened to the massive wooden stand made for it. Like all the very large bells elsewhere in China, it is sounded by means of a beam of wood, suspended horizontally by cords from the roof of the building. This beam is swung against the bell after the manner of a battering ram, striking it upon the outside near its mouth. Its tone was excellent, making the building itself, and everything in it, tremble from the reverberation for several minutes after the bell had been struck.

There is a striking contrast between the Chinese and Tartar portions of Pekin. The whole appearance of the latter indicates the presence of the dominant race, now devoid even of that courage and warlike prowess which characterised them in former times, whilst their lethargy, indolence, and dirty habits have increased, causing them to be still as distinct from the conquered Chinese as they were of yore. They still leave the commerce and trade of the country to the thrifty Chinamen, and have only just enough shops within their city as are sufficient for supplying their ordinary wants. The streets, although thronged with people, lacked the air of bustle and life for which Chinese cities are famous. The very beggars and ragamuffins had a listless appearance, and merely stood gaping at the passing foreigners. No dirty little boys made rude and facetious remarks to us as we strolled through the streets. The manufacture of dirt pies seemed to be the summit of their genius. The nomadic disposition of the race was indicated by the numbers of tents pitched about in odd parts of the city; in some places along the wide streets, a space was left between them and the houses for foot passengers, and a roadway in the centre for carts and horses. Indeed, in all the principal thoroughfares there were rows of booths or tents along each side of the carriage-way, which was thus divided from the footpaths. But if such is the aspect of the city in which the rulers of the country dwell, far otherwise is the appearance presented on passing through any of the three gates which lead from the Tartar into the Chinese quarter.

The principal streets through the latter are also wide,

but leading off from them are narrow roadways, thickly lined with rich shops, and crowded with active, busy people, all intent upon business matters. The hum of voices bargaining and disputing about prices, the hissing, buzzing noise of lathes at work, and the din of hammers, indicate a liveliness of trade and manufacture which at once stamps the place as essentially Chinese.

CHAP. XIII.

EMBARKATION OF THE ARMY AT TIEN-TSIN. — REMARKS UPON THE EFFICIENCY OF OUR GUNBOATS. — REVIEW OF THE OBJECTS OBTAINED BY THE WAR.

THE army commenced embarking at Tien-tsin about the middle of November, and by the exertions of our staff, and the able co-operation of the naval authorities, all were on board ship by the end of the month. The gunboats had hard work, both night and day: and as the weather was very severe, their endless journeyings from Tien-tsin to the fleet and back again were no pleasing duties. Our cavalry marched to Takoo, and embarked there; no accident occurring to any one.

Upon the 19th November there was a heavy fall of snow, and the frosts at night were most trying. By the 25th of the month the Peiho was frozen over completely near the city, upon which day several of us walked across the river upon the ice.

Political considerations had detained us at Pekin almost to the very last day that it would have been possible to remain there without compromising our subsequent embarkation. As it was, much difficulty was experienced in getting the native followers away. Upon such occasions it is quite wonderful how people hitherto unheard of spring up; amateurs, private servants, apothecaries, &c. &c., of whose presence

none had previously known anything, come forward at the last moment requesting passages, so much so, that in calculating for all such operations, it is invariably necessary to leave a margin for the accommodation of the tag-rag and bob-tail always certain to be there.

Towards the end of the month many portions of the river were so blocked up with ice that the gunboats were sometimes three and four days in getting over the distance between Takoo and Tien-tsin. The Hindostanees, whom no amount of teaching or past experience will make provident as regards their own health, suffered considerably from the cold and exposure incident upon these unavoidable delays on the river. They were all liberally supplied with warm clothing, yet so incomprehensible are those people in their proceedings, that it required much care to see that they used the various articles given to them. In one instance, when a vessel carrying out a number of syces (grooms) from Takoo to the fleet stuck upon the bar at the mouth of the river and was detained there for about forty-eight hours before it got off, some few of the natives died from the exposure. Inquiries were instituted into the circumstance, when it was found that the warm clothing which had been served out to these people was tied up in their bundles, which all had with them, instead of being worn upon their persons. Their apathy and indifference as to future consequences had thus really occasioned their deaths; for there is every just reason for supposing that had they put on the clothing provided for their use their lives would have been spared. At Tien-tsin, on the very coldest mornings, when snow was on the

ground, I have seen numbers of these Hindostanee followers going about the streets with bare legs, as their custom is in India, while at that very time they had warm drawers and trousers in their possession. Officers commanding native troops there were obliged to make a punishable offence of their omitting to clothe themselves properly.

The garrison left at Tien-tsin consisted of the 2nd battalion, 60th Rifles, 67th Regiment, and half of the 31st Regiment, the other half being quartered in the Takoo forts. A battery of Royal Artillery, one company of Royal Engineers, Fane's Horse, and a battalion of Military Train, with a due proportion of medical and commissariat staff,—Brigadier Staveley, C.B., being in command. This force was complete in every equipment, and provided with every comfort which it was possible to supply them with. The finest building in the place was converted into a hospital, no pains or expense being spared in fitting it up with every convenience. Indeed, if the garrison of Tien-tsin has not been comfortable during the past year, it is from no want of care on the part of the Commander-in-Chief or of the staff officers who acted under his orders.

The city and its suburbs are badly drained, the ground upon which they stand being so little above the level of the river. After heavy rain the streets become seas of mire.

Before we left all the shops were open as usual, and driving a lively trade. The pastrycook's establishment quickly earned a well-deserved celebrity for its sponge cakes and biscuits, which were quite as good as any in Gunter's shop. The politeness of the shopmen soon

made the place one of general resort. Of curiosities there were not many worth purchasing, except what the French soldiers had still amongst them for sale. The Chinese dealers in such articles bought up eagerly all silks, jade-stone ornaments, &c. &c., which our allies wished to dispose of, giving large prices for the latter-named article. In one instance that I knew of, an officer had purchased a jade-stone necklace, at the Pekin prize sale, for 50 dollars (about 11*l.*), for which he was subsequently offered 1500 taels, or 500*l.* sterling.

Sir Hope Grant, having remained at Tien-tsin whilst the army was embarking, left that place himself at the end of November, and proceeded to Shanghai.

Up to the last moment that navigation along the Peiho was possible, our gunboats were employed in bringing up supplies of stores from the fleet. The officers commanding those little vessels deserve every praise for the manner in which they did their work, being always ready to oblige every one to their utmost, and making light of all those little difficulties and annoyances which always attend such arduous duties. The gunboat service holds a position in the navy very similar to what our Irregular Service does in the Indian army, giving young officers opportunities of commanding and acting upon their own responsibility, inculcating self-reliance, which, to both soldiers and sailors, is of such importance. This has been the means of bringing forward some of the best officers now in her Majesty's service, who must have been, otherwise, still holding subordinate positions. There is, however, even yet, in some quarters, a strong feeling against the employment of young men in im-

portant posts. Considerable power is still in the hands of very old men, who frequently pooh-pooh youth, and stand up for their own "order," that of antiquity. Youth is frequently as much a disqualification for employment as old age ought always to be.

All our transports, when leaving the Gulf of Pechili, were ordered to stop at Hong-kong, for the purpose of refitting, &c. &c., before proceeding to their final destinations.

Thus ended the China War of 1860, the shortest, most brilliant, and most successful of all that we have waged with that country. Let us hope that it may be the last, by procuring for our merchants a perpetual immunity from those acts of violence and oppression, which have led to all our disputes with the Pekin Government. May its prophylactical effects enable us to trade on freely at every port along the great seaboard of the empire, and so open out new channels for our commercial enterprise.

It has cost us a large sum of money, but unlike many of our expensive European wars, we may with justice look forward to a liberal return for what we have expended.

To have refrained from a war with China in 1860, and at the same time have maintained our position at the several ports where we traded, would have been impossible. If we had pocketed our defeat of 1859, and contented ourselves with written demands for apology or reparation, we might, perhaps, have struggled on for some little time without any very violent rupture with the Chinese authorities; but the day must soon

have arrived when we should have been forced to decide whether we should fight or withdraw finally from the country.

The one great object which we have ever had in view there has been freedom of action for our merchants, and unrestricted permission to trade with all parts of the empire. To prevent this last mentioned object has ever been the aim of all Chinese politicians. They sought to confine foreign trade to a few ports, where they wished our mercantile community to exist merely upon sufferance, and exposed to insult and exactions, in order to demonstrate publicly its dependent position. By Sir Henry Pottinger's treaty, access for British subjects at all times into Canton was stipulated for, but, most improperly, never enforced. By the Tien-tsin treaty of 1858, it was agreed that we should have liberty to travel through all parts of the country, and that the treaty itself should be ratified in presence of our Minister at Pekin. When endeavouring to push his way there for that purpose, Mr. Bruce was opposed by force of arms, and prevented from accomplishing his object. Not only was the clause in the treaty which declared the unrestricted liberty of travelling through China thus proved to be null, but even our Minister's right of way to the capital was at once denied. That right of visiting Pekin at pleasure, and carrying on direct and personal communications with the Government there, was the principal advantage which Lord Elgin's mission in 1858 had obtained for us; but upon our first attempt to avail ourselves of the engagement it was forcibly denied. To have quietly allowed them to recede from their contracts,

would have been indeed a bad precedent to have established. The best guarantee we have for the fulfilment of the treaty now ratified, is the very act of ratification itself, which was a public recognition of our equality with China as a nation, and a renunciation, on their part, of those conceited notions regarding universal superiority, which has ever been one of the great difficulties in all our dealings with them.

Surely no one can accuse our Government of having unnecessarily plunged into this war, although many may with justice find fault with its having been postponed so long. The British nation is always slow to engage in war. John Bull has certain received notions as to right and wrong, justice and injustice, &c. &c., which, although essentially applicable in all his relations with the civilised nations of the West, are as unsuited for Eastern politics as red brick would be for ancient Grecian architecture. His repugnance to spill blood has sometimes the very opposite effect of causing it to flow in quantities, which a slight effusion earlier in the affair would have prevented. He prefers, in all matters likely to entail war, to concede to the utmost limits of concession. In disputes with Asiatics such is not the line of action to pursue. To renounce any demand previously made, or to fail in enforcing any stipulated agreement, is simply to incur a reputation of weakness or cowardice with them. Notwithstanding our century's experience in India, the English people really know little of the Asiatic mind. The advice and instruction frequently put forward in print upon the subject by our Indian administrators, is rejected by the people at home. They insist upon

considering that all our public servants in India are imbued with bigoted notions from long residence in the East, and that what is applicable to England and its people must be equally so to the enslaved negroes of America and the ancient governments of Asia. But to these, on the contrary, new ideas regarding international policy never penetrate, and the same motives influence the ruler and the subject now which actuated those classes when our ancestors went naked and painted their bodies sky blue. If any European monarch of the twelfth century had pursued the system of international policy at present general in the Western world, he must have entailed upon himself the hatred of his own people and the scorn of all others. Such a revolution in the minds of men cannot be effected in a day. We might as well expect to christianise the Eastern nations at once, by giving them the Bible, as expect to overthrow their secular faith in political economy by simply enunciating that system which our superior wisdom teaches us. To engraft the enlightened institutions of the nineteenth, upon the ignorance of the twelfth century, and expect the tree to bear fruit immediately, is folly. Before the Asiatic world can be led to believe in the justice of our polity, or before it will be applicable to Eastern nations, it will be necessary first to raise them up to our standard of knowledge, and enable them to reason in the same logical manner with ourselves. Time, bringing with it increased learning, alone can eradicate traditional errors. If it took many centuries to overcome in us the fear of witchcraft, and to enable us to discover how wrong it was to burn our fellow-creatures for differing with

us upon religious matters, surely many generations must pass away before our essentially British mode of proceeding in the East is appreciated there in its true light. Year after year the local authorities of Canton oppressed our merchants, and offered insults to our officials, but rather than plunge into hostilities we left those injuries unredressed. Every individual slight that we submitted to was the sure precursor of another, until at last an impression was established that we would sooner bear with any indignity than draw the sword. If we had insisted from the first upon the right of entry within Canton, and had been sharp in avenging at once all serious attempts at violence upon the part of the local authorities there, we should have saved the millions which we have since had to expend in war. Nothing, however, but the presence of an armed force effecting a chronic intimidation could have enabled us to accomplish that end; and the British nation, taking but little interest in the matter, as long as trade somehow or other went on, preferred ignoring the difficulties encountered by our officials to incurring the yearly expense which the maintenance of such a force would have entailed. So strong was our disinclination to embroil ourselves, that Sir John Davis was disgraced for having insisted upon the right of entry into Canton, and severe strictures were made by many upon those who were responsible for the active measures taken in the Arrow affair. Before entering upon the war of 1860, an ultimatum was despatched to Pekin by orders of the Home Government, offering, the most liberal terms for reconciliation. These terms were so favourable to the Imperial Government, that

all who were ignorant of the train of reasoning common to Asiatic minds were certain of their acceptance, and believed our warlike preparations uncalled for in consequence. The liberality of the proffered terms, however, only made war the more inevitable after all. They were supposed to be dictated by fear arising from our recent defeat. By placing ourselves gratuitously in the position of suppliants we gave his Celestial Majesty cause for imagining that he was really our superior in strength, and consequently entitled to dictate terms to us. His impertinently evasive answer was the result.

By the residence of our Minister at Pekin, we can now apply directly to the authorities there for redress in all matters of local grievance, and the authorities at the various ports will henceforth hesitate before they embroil themselves with foreigners who have a minister at the Chinese seat of government, in direct personal communication with their immediate superiors there.

By this war we have practically opened out the trade of the Yang-tse-kiang, whence a vastly increased commerce is to be expected. We have inflicted such a severe blow upon the inflated pride of Hien-fung, that the whole face of Chinese politics, and our relations with that country, must change, before he will again dare to insult our flag or obstruct our commerce.

It is to be hoped, also, that intercourse with such men as Mr. Bruce, and those now acting under him, may serve in a measure to open the eyes of Chinese politicians to a just appreciation of their own shortcomings and real interests.

The commercial advantages which we have obtained are great, but we have gained others also. We have carried on a most successful war at a distance of seventeen thousand miles from England. Fighting side by side with the *soi-disant* most military nation in Europe, our organisation, staff, commissariat, &c. &c., has, at the very humblest estimation of our merits, proved at least equal to that of France. We have had a fine opportunity of testing the powers, and adaptibility to service in the field, of our new Armstrong guns, proving them side by side with the artillery which gained Solferino for Louis Napoleon. Their efficiency having thus received the only corroboration wanting, warrants confidence in their future manufacture. In the general administration of both army and navy, and their relative bearings one towards the other in such a species of warfare, we have gained much useful experience, which might now be of great practical benefit, whilst the formation of a regular transport service is under consideration. It is to be hoped that those upon whom such a duty devolves will avail themselves of the information which the military officers who had charge of the transport arrangements in China can afford. We have received a lesson against overestimating the effect which the substitution of rifles for the smooth-bored musket produces in action, proving that to close with an enemy is still as essential for victory as it was in the days of spears and crossbows. No amount of skirmishing at a distance will inflict any very decisive loss upon an enemy; and it is much to be feared that the possession of rifled weapons may tend towards inculcating the principle of engaging

at long bowls and avoiding close combat, from which alone decisive events are to be obtained. As a nation we are prone to run away with such questions, and a few enthusiasts in shooting — not riflemen in the military acceptation of the term — have propounded the theory of utterly destroying an army by sharp-shooters. They demonstrate by calculations upon paper and experiments upon the Hythe sands the certainty of doing so. Such gentlemen are mostly those who have never seen a shot fired in earnest, and the incorrectness of their views is vouched for by almost every officer of long-tried experience in the field. The smallness of the loss incurred the other day by the Federal army, which was engaged for hours at long ranges with their victorious opponents, proves still more of how little damage is inflicted in action by infantry fire delivered at great distances.

In the execution or results of the war there is nothing left to be wished for.

CHAP. XIV.

ACCOUNT OF A SHORT RESIDENCE AT NANKIN WITH ONE OF THE REBEL KINGS. — THE TAI-PING RELIGION AND FORM OF GOVERNMENT: THEIR CUSTOMS, ETC. — REFLECTIONS UPON THEIR PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES AND FUTURE PROSPECTS. — DESCRIPTION OF NANKIN AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

As there is but little authentic information regarding the Chinese rebel movements and affairs, the experiences of a short sojourn at Nankin may, perhaps, prove acceptable to the general reader; more especially as of late so many contradictory stories as to the Tai-ping form of government, religion, &c. &c., have been made public, that persons unacquainted with the sources from which such very conflicting statements emanate are at a loss to account for their discrepancy and puzzled to know which to believe.

The real state of the case is, that we learn all particulars concerning Chinese events from the English and American community settled at the several ports open to foreigners. This community is exclusively composed of two classes, the commercial and the missionary, whose interests, as a general rule, clash upon all points; the fact that the former do not practise the morality inculcated by the preaching of the latter being often cast in the missionaries' teeth by unbelieving Chinamen.

The English thereabouts are almost all young men; and, as might be expected in a society where marriageable spinsters are rare, they are not more virtuous than their brethren at home. Any young man, however, availing himself of the liberal domestic institutions of the country, and consoling himself in his estrangement from European female society by a *liaison* with a Chinese beauty, is pointed at by all the married missionaries as doomed to hell-fire, and told that he is turning the Christian religion as preached by them into a mockery. This naturally very common occurrence, together with the hotly contested opium question, has given rise to much bitterness of feeling between these two classes, who consequently view the revolutionary movement under totally dissimilar aspects. They see it, as it were, through distinct mediums, which gives to the representations of each quite a different colouring. The principal features are of course retained in both; but so altered are they under the artist's style, that, as described by one, it appears like a pleasing landscape lit up by sunny tints, across which a shadow is certainly thrown here and there, but *so* thrown as to give greater prominency to the brighter portions of the picture; whilst, as depicted by the other class, "shadows, clouds, and darkness," rest upon it: the houses are roofless, the streets deserted, the untilled land produces only briers and thorns; the dead lie unburied in the foreground; the human figures are an armed banditti dragging after them their dishonoured female captives; and the only light thrown upon the scene is from the glare of villages burning in the distance. Both, no doubt, describe the movement as it appears to them; the one regarding it

with the cool, calculating eyes of worldly wisdom; the other with all the fiery and enthusiastic zeal of fanaticism.

The missionaries, naturally and necessarily anxious for proselytism, are only too prone to recognise as true believers, all who in any shape profess to worship the Saviour; and, after years of unceasing toil and labour, crowned with but little, if any, success, their rapture knows no bounds, when a host of people start up in the field of their pilgrimage, breaking down the carved images, against the worship of which they had long been preaching, and declaring themselves converts to the religion of the Gospel. It is scarcely to be wondered at, therefore, that in their joy at so much *apparent* spiritual good, they should lose sight of the great evils attendant thereon. If such should be alluded to before them, they at once remind you of the burnings, crucifixions, and horrible tortures which have always accompanied the introduction of any new creed into countries as uncivilised as China is at present, where the character of the people is as barbarous, and their ideas of right and wrong as confused and ill-defined as those of the English in the tenth century. In answer to your assertion that all Tai-ping operations have been peculiarly characterised by acts of wholesale cruelty, they reply, "How can you expect such an unexampled change, as that attempted by Tien-wan, to be accomplished without injury to numbers, in a nation of four hundred millions of inhabitants, all accustomed to acts of cruelty from childhood, and educated to accept such as the traditional governing principle of their race?" No doubt there is much plausibility in this manner of reasoning; but I

am sorry to say that the data from which they start in their argument are as false as it is possible that they could be.

In their iconoclastic zeal the rebels refuse to or cannot perceive the *nice*, and, to ignorant minds, inappreciable distinction, drawn by the Popish Church between worshipping God before an image, and the adoration of the image itself. They consequently refuse to consider as brethren the emissaries of the "Propaganda," and treat the altars and graven images thereon which have been established under its auspices with as little respect as they evince towards the representation of Buddha or the tablets of Confucius. As a natural consequence the Romish priests are their bitter enemies, and use all means within their power to aid the Imperialists in crushing them. Our well-meaning Protestant missionaries hail with pleasure the establishment of what they consider a sect having at least a strong leaven of Christianity in it, and assert that the hostility of the Romish priests arises from a dread lest the Bible, in its entirety and purity, should henceforth become a text-book in China, and be the means of opening the eyes of all Popish neophytes to the errors of their religion. As might be anticipated, the Protestants side easily and in an unquestioning spirit with a sect which hails them as "brethren," and they are drawn all the more closely and unhesitatingly into the connection by the antagonism to Popery common to both. When the reader reflects upon these matters, he will be able, I have no doubt, to understand why it is that events now occurring before the eyes of our fellow-countrymen, in a land with which we have been so lately at war, are

represented in such glowing colours, and with such great future expectations by the ecclesiastical portion, and described by the laity in a diametrically opposite manner. The latter look upon China merely as a field for commercial speculation; one which has long been great, but now would be immense, with the Yang-tse-kiang open to our ships, were it not for the rebellion. Wherever the long-haired armies appear, there all trade ceases; flourishing cities cease to exist, thickly-populated and highly-cultivated provinces become howling deserts; and the demand for English goods, and the supply of native productions, die at the same moment. Devoted to worldly matters, and educated to consider events as they relatively influence commerce, in a calm, cool way, never roused by enthusiasm, never carried away by visionary idealities, looking ever straight before them with a questioning and scrutinising minuteness, having no room within their matter-of-fact heads for the poetry of spiritual life, our merchants grasp at once the stern facts as they have occurred, watch their results, and judge accordingly with a worldly, and in their case, a selfish judgment. As the respective worshippers of God and Mammon, both representations are to be taken *cum grano*.

Being neither a missionary nor a merchant, I was most anxious to visit the rebel head-quarters, and, if possible, by a stay there to judge for myself of their merits or demerits. Having had some little experience of the imbecility and rottenness of the Imperialist Government, I went to Nankin strongly prejudiced against it, and only too anxious to recognise any good which we might discover in its rival for supreme power.

We were accommodated in a palace belonging to the Chung-wan or Faithful King, and received daily a supply of fowl, eggs, &c. &c., for which no money would be received. It would appear almost as if they wished to abolish altogether the use of coin, and reduce society to that patriarchal state in which the people receive their daily food, clothing, &c., and have all the ordinary wants of nature supplied by the master under whose banner they served. Such, at least, is the system now in practice within Nankin. There are eleven kings, to one or other of whom every man is attached, the name of each man being duly registered at the public office, over which his king presides, and from which he receives a daily allowance of food. At present eatables are scarce, but all sorts of wearing apparel are to be had in abundance, having been obtained in immense quantities upon the capture of Soochow, the great Chinese emporium of all such articles. Upon several occasions we endeavoured to pay the poor, wretched, half-starved looking coolies who carried our traps, but although sometimes the money was offered to them when none of their superiors were present, they almost always refused, fearing lest it might be discovered, and so bring down the vengeance of the executioner's sword upon them. No shops of any sort whatever are permitted within the walls of Nankin. There are, however, one or two insignificant markets in the ruined suburbs, where a small quantity of vegetables and fish are daily exposed for sale. For a considerable time it has been a contested point, whether Hung-seu-tsuen, the originator of the movement, whose pretended visions first gave rise to the crusade against idolatry, is

really still living or not. But that he still lives is now ascertained beyond doubt. Mr. Roberts, a Baptist American missionary, at whose school in Canton the Tien-wan, or Heavenly King, as he calls himself, first received any biblical knowledge, is now a resident in Nankin. We saw him during our stay there frequently, and from him I learnt a great deal of the information now given here.

He reached Nankin last October, after experiencing much difficulty in getting through the rebel forces stationed in the neighbourhood of Soochow. Shortly after his arrival, the Tien-wan sent to him, saying, he wished to have an interview with him. This was a most marked favour, as none but the other kings are allowed into his "sacred presence," and then only upon matters of state business, when they kneel before him. Some difficulty occurred about the etiquette necessary at the presentation, as Mr. Roberts most properly refused to kneel down on both knees to any man; but this was at last got over; and those who were arranging the interview, promised him that he should not be obliged to do so. However, as Mr. Roberts said, "they did him," for as soon as he entered the hall of audience, Tien-wan exclaimed, "Let us worship the Heavenly Father;" so, as Mr. Roberts could not refuse to join in praising God, he knelt, whilst all present repeated a doxology, which was originally composed by him for the use of his scholars at Canton. The difficulty thus overcome, they had a long conversation, chiefly upon religious subjects, in which Tien-wan reversed their former relative positions, and sought to convert his quondam teacher to the new light of

religion, not as laid down in the Holy Scriptures, but as it has been, he says, revealed to him directly from the "Heavenly Father." The great request contained in all his arguments then, and in his subsequent written communications, has been that Mr. Roberts should become a proselyte to the blasphemous pretensions of Tien-wanism, and go forth into the foreign world to convert it over to this novel faith. At the conclusion of the interview, Tien-wan addressed himself to the other kings then present, directing them to pay all respect to Mr. Roberts, "as the Heavenly Father had told him (Tien-wan), that he (Mr. Roberts), was a good man." A title of similar rank to that of a British marquis was conferred upon him, and a commission sent him creating him "secretary of state," for the arrangement of foreign affairs. Mr. Roberts has always most persistingly refused to exercise the duties of the office, but for the convenience of moving about freely he wears robes like those worn by all the kings and high functionaries. They are made of Imperial coloured, yellow silk, fantastically embroidered with representations of dragons, flowers, and other curious devices. With the exception of the head-dress, they have copied the Imperial court fashions most accurately. On their heads, instead of the well known turned-up mandarin hat, with its red, blue, or white button on the top, they wear a sort of hood which in cold weather is very comfortable, but which in summer must be, I should imagine, almost unbearable. Around this is worn a ridiculous-looking, gilt cardboard tiara, cut into fantastic shapes, and ornamented sometimes with what struck me as badly executed artificial flowers, and sometimes

with little figures of tigers. Altogether it looks quite whimsical enough for the head-dress of some monster at a Christmas pantomime. They all still retain their tails, which, instead of being composed of the back hair only, have all the hair of the head plaited into them, and a large quantity of red silk as well. They are thus of considerable size, and when wound round the head turban-fashion, have a most picturesque and becoming effect. Another method very common amongst them is to bind up the tail in a yellow silk, or blue cotton handkerchief, which covers the whole head and even part of the forehead, where it is ornamented with some tawdry jewel, or imitation of one. The heads of the Chinese are not naturally well-shaped, but this latter mode of adorning them gives them such a classical appearance that they somewhat resemble those of the statues of the Grecian goddesses.

Tien-wan is a native of Kwan-se, whence a large portion of his chief followers come. Kan-wan, who is Tienwan's cousin, like most of the other kings, belongs to the class known at Canton as Ha-kaws (strange guests), who constitute the great floating population there. Kan-wan is now prime minister, and is the only man said to have the least influence with the despotic Tien-wan, who, since the attempt made by the northern and eastern kings to seize the supreme power, admits none into his confidence, and no longer even associates in any way with the other kings. Both the attempted revolutions were punished with the most barbarous severity; every man, woman, and child belonging to those two powerful rebel leaders having been put to death.

Tien-wan now lives thoroughly secluded from all male society, within the recesses of his palace, surrounded by his host of wives and swarms of concubines, or female attendants, whichever he may choose to term them, no male servant being under any pretext whatever permitted within the sacred precincts of his residence. His palace is quite new, and forms with one or two others and some very badly constructed fortifications, the only monuments of the new dynasty. In appearance it has nothing peculiar about it, being built according to the general design of all public buildings in the "flowery land." In its decoration, however, it copies most accurately the imperial yellow tiling and unmeaning-looking royal dragon. As on the day we visited this palace an edict was issued by the Heavenly King, we had an opportunity of witnessing the ceremonies usual upon such occasions.

A long, covered porch leads up to the gate of the private residence, and on this a red carpet was spread. All the officials of the guard, and those apparently belonging to the public offices in the immediate neighbourhood, came forward in their state dresses, and kneeling in rows facing the gate, waited in that position until it should be opened. After a little time the lofty yellow doors were thrown open, and a woman appeared, carrying a highly ornamented tray, upon which was a sort of despatch-box, painted a bright, canary colour, and having pictures of dragons on each side. It was sealed up, and contained within the sacred edict. Upon seeing the box, all present, immediately bent their heads, and the great crowd which had assembled, partly to witness the ceremony, and partly

to stare at the "*foreign devils*," fell down upon their knees, all repeating, with a regular cadence, "Ten thousand years, ten thousand years, ten thousand times ten thousand years," which, although as it were analogous to our loyal exclamation of "God save the Queen," is with them repeated with all the fervour of adoration. A sort of yellow-coloured sedan-chair, with glass sides, was then brought forward, in which the precious mandate was placed, and then borne away on the shoulders of eight coolies, amidst a loud salvo of guns, a band of music playing in front and a swarm of attendants following. It was being taken to the Tsan-wan's palace. All the edicts and letters coming from the Tien-wan are written either by his own hand or that of his son, a child of twelve years old, who professes to have direct revelations from God, and whose name is now associated in all public documents with that of his father. The "sacred" epistles are always upon yellow satin or silk, and written with red ink. I saw one which had been sent to Mr. Roberts. The style in which they are worded would be blasphemous in the extreme if it were not so essentially ludicrous. They commenced by invoking the name of God the Father, Son, Holy Spirit, Tien-wan the younger brother, and the junior lord: — this last being the above-mentioned son of the great impostor. They all assert that as Jesus Christ came into the world to save mankind, so has Tien-wan, Christ's uterine younger brother, come down by God's command to establish His kingdom upon earth. The Trinity, as believed in by us, is not conceived by them. The same man who will repeat to you a doxology most

glibly, in which the three persons only are glorified, will, if you question him, declare that Christ and Tien-wan, being uterine brothers, are equal. They tell you that as all the earthly kings are equal one with another, so is Christ and Tien-wan. They have abolished the worship of ancestors; but their respect for age, and the superiority in dignity to which a father must ever be entitled over his son, induces them to give a higher precedence to God the Father than to God the Son. It is unnatural, say they, that a son should be equal to his father. I know this is a point upon which a whole host of missionaries will contradict me, urging, in strong denial of it, the doxologies, which they are ever bandying about. But I took particular care in assuring myself upon the point, by frequently having questions on the subject put to those with whom I came in contact. Indeed it is only the very best class—if one may apply such a term to a set of men of whom all the chiefs have been common coolies, or very little better — it is only those who are the "light" of the community who appear to have any fixed opinion whatever upon religion, although a very large proportion can repeat — parrot-like — certain articles of belief collated from our catechism by Mr. Roberts. One man, who seemed an intelligent fellow, and well-to-do in the world, distinctly told the interpreter before me, that God the Father and Tien-wan were equal, whilst Jesus was inferior to both. It is a hard thing to judge our fellow-mortals; it always appears like the presumption of the Pharisee, for when condemning the religion believed in by others, we seem to thank God that we are better than they. But I must

say, anxious as I was to discover good in either their principles or actions, I left Nankin after a stay of nearly a week, strongly impressed with the feeling that if the rebels have washed themselves clean from the sin of idolatry it is the only feature in their religion worthy of praise. Any one who, like Tien-wan, writes in large capitals over the entrance of his residence, "The sacred heavenly gate of the true God," can surely obtain but few advocates in England. It is true that he does not hinder his followers from reading the Bible; but the majority of the inhabitants cannot even decipher the character, and none care to try. Tien-wan himself makes use of numerous quotations from the sacred writings; but they are mostly from the Pentateuch, which appears to have had great weight with him in his system of absolute government and in many of his customs. He keeps the Jewish Sabbath, although most certainly not after the Hebrew manner. On Friday evenings you see flags hung out in many of the principal streets, announcing that "To-morrow will be the Sabbath and all are commanded to reverence and keep it." I could not, however, discover in what manner they kept it; for they refrained in no way whatever from any of their ordinary amusements or occupations, and, as they have not attempted to construct any churches, no semblance even of public worship is gone through. I was told by a zealous advocate of theirs, that at a certain hour in the day I should hear a gun fired, when all the inhabitants would kneel down and worship God; but although I carefully watched for the signal during the Saturday which we spent there, I never heard it; nor did I in any place see any

number of people praying, although I was wandering about the city all day. I am quite sure that the Chinese servants who attended upon us never adhered to this admirable plan.

In the ancient Chinese classics the supreme deity is always mentioned under the name of Shan-tee, and as the same term is used by the Tien-wanists, in alluding to our Heavenly Father, there can be but little doubt but that those amongst the rebels who know anything at all about religion, believe that the faith they are now called upon to subscribe to by their leader, is that of their ancestors in ages past. In fact, the god before whose image they have bowed down in their youth, they believe to be the same as that which now they worship by name. Having cast down the idol, they now pray to what most believe to be its living representative in heaven, whilst his actual son, descended from above, now gives spiritual laws to the world. It was announced not long ago in the public prints that Tien-wan was about to build eighteen churches in Nankin; this is certainly an error. They say they are going to do so, but upon close inquiry we discovered that the buildings were to be for public offices, not for the especial service of God. The mistake, however, most probably arose from their continual habit of calling everything "heavenly." They have changed Nankin (the southern capital), into Tien-kin (the heavenly capital); so with even the smallest matters from "the heavenly palace" down to the very ink with which they write, all are called "heavenly." Quotations from Tien-wan's religious edicts, and bastard extracts from the Bible, are very commonly seen posted up in

large black characters upon red or yellow paper over the doors of private houses. They have no notion of a church in our sense of the term; and in talking of public buildings of any sort, they would certainly call them "sacred" and "heavenly," which accounts for the report.

In Nankin, the population of which is now very small, there are about two women for every man. Most of the inhabitants have been captured, a large proportion having been taken from Soochow; and unlike any other town which I had hitherto visited in the empire, the women walked and rode about in public, and did not pretend, as Chinese ladies usually do, to be in the least degree afraid of foreigners, nor did they seek to shun us. They were almost all beautifully dressed in the curiously worked silks and satins of Soochow. With admirable discrimination the followers of the Heavenly King seem exclusively to reserve the good-looking women in the almost general massacres which follow their victories. Old women and female children there were, we may say, none, although there was a very large proportion of boys. To be the husband of one wife does not necessarily form part of the new faith, the spiritual revelation regarding which, has been made to serve even such vile purposes as the suspension, in particular cases, of the tenth commandment. The eastern king who declared he was the Holy Spirit, and, like Tien-wan, had frequent private intercourse with God the Father, upon one occasion said he had been directed by Him to transfer some particular wife or concubine (I forget which), from a friend's harem to his own. Those who are determined

to discover good in these people aver that prostitution and adultery are punished amongst them by death; *that* I think quite probable; but as such a penalty is inflicted for the most trivial offences, it does not prove that they consider those sins as peculiarly heinous.

Not long before our arrival two women, who were heard to speak depreciatingly of the existing government, and to make some comparison between the present misery of their situation and their former lot —were beheaded at once. Although "the social evil" may have death for its declared penalty, and although it may to a certain extent be abolished after the manner in which many wise people in England would wish to see a stop put to it—namely, by making the offence criminal—yet of this I am satisfied, that it has not improved the morals of the "brethren." The escape of women from their domineering lords and masters does not seem to be very uncommon, as more than once we came across advertisements placarded upon the walls, offering rewards varying from fifteen to two dollars to any one who would bring them back. These bills entered into the most minute particulars, reminding one of the notices one sees in England regarding "dogs lost, stolen, or strayed." The power of punishing with death is given to almost the meanest officials. Men whose rank corresponds with that of a constable with us, possess and use it most freely. The man who on the day of our landing was sent with us from the custom-house to show the road into the city had this power. All who have it carry a little three-cornered flag, with the character "Ling" in its centre. Such is their "attribute of awe and majesty." This guide was a very

common-looking fellow indeed; dressed little better than a coolie, and holding such an inferior position, that the gatekeeper of the city refused to let us enter at his request. Mr. Roberts told us that when he was leaving Soochow *en route* for Nankin, a petty officer of this sort was sent with him to obtain chairmen for him at the different stages; and that upon one occasion some poor person having annoyed him (the official) he said he would behead him, and was only prevented by Mr. Roberts from actually carrying his threat into execution. Mr. Roberts also informed us, that he passed on the road, during his journey, numbers of human bodies from which the heads had been but lately severed. The men who were sent by the Tsan-wan to attend upon us during our stay, said they had been in former times silk weavers at Soochow, but were then slaves, having been captured at the taking of that city. Their lives were spared, because they could be made useful in carrying away the loot from thence. These poor wretches were in the most abject misery, but did not dare to express their feelings when any other Chinamen were present. They were really grateful when we gave them a cheroot to smoke, the use of tobacco being nominally prohibited, but like opium still much indulged in by those who can obtain it. Although smoking is said to be punishable by death, all the officials who visited us were delighted to get cigars; indeed at last they became rather importunate in their applications for the fragrant weed. Wherever we went the same question was universally asked us, "What have you got for sale?" "Have you any opium?" "Have you any firearms?" A man went

on board one of our ships lying off Nankin, and asked for a hundred chests of opium. Some of our party had once to pay the Tsan-wan a visit late in the evening, when that royal personage was quite stupid, and most unmistakeably under the influence of the above narcotic. To say that the Tien-wanists deserve any praise for their proclaimed laws prohibiting the use of opium is absurd; and although it may serve as a good missionary cry, to create sympathy for the cause in England, it will be laughed at by every man who has lately paid the Yang-tse-kiang a visit at any point where the rebel territories touch upon it. We visited many such places, and at all, as at Nankin, the great cry was for opium and arms. We made frequent attempts to worm out the peculiarities of their form of government and to discover the nature of their laws, but without success. Various kings look after various departments, and they have established "public boards," in imitation of the Imperial system, under the royal presidency of these kings; but all real authority is centred in Tien-wan, without whose sanction nothing that *they* deem important is ever carried out. His mother and two of his brothers live with him, but exercise no authority, and have not any influence over him. Neither of these brothers have hitherto appeared in the field; but during our residence at Nankin one of them was about to lead out an "army" for the first time, Tien-wan having heard that people were talking disrespectfully regarding his relations, and comparing them to the drones who eat the honey but made none themselves. All the kings now speak most confidently regarding the future: the capture of Soochow, by means

of the traitorous conduct of the Imperial garrison, having inspired them with fresh confidence. Before this success their cause was much less hopeful, and they were badly off for supplies and money. They told us that it was their intention to drive away the "Imps," as they term the Imperialists, from the entire basin of the Yang-tse-kiang during the summer of this year; and for that reason they were most anxious to know how we intended acting at the open parts upon the river where we have now hoisted our flag. When at war with the existing Mantchoo government last year, we prevented the rebels from seizing Shanghai, and actually came to blows with them in our defence of that place. So, as we defended the Imperial city because our flag was hoisted there, when we were at war with Hien-fung, they naturally conclude we will do so all the more energetically now that we have concluded a peace, and are on friendly terms with his government. On this account they regard our newly-opened trade on the Yang-tse with as much concealed dislike as the Imperialists hail it with pleasure; the latter thinking (for the reasons mentioned above as influencing the Tien-wanists), that our presence at Hankow, Kew-kiang, and Ching-kiang, will procure for those important places a security which they themselves alone have not the power of affording them. There are now very large bodies of men moving up towards the two former places; but as they are merely unorganised, plundering masses, they can only hope for success through the disaffection of the Imperialist army. In fact their only strength consists in the weakness of the government. All the rebel soldiers that we saw were

badly armed, the universal weapon being a long bamboo with a pike on the top—a very small proportion having old muskets, matchlocks, or pistols; a few, fowling-pieces and rifles. Every second man carried a huge flag, and some carried swords—altogether it is impossible to imagine a more undisciplined or inefficient mob. Wherever they go they plunder and destroy. Civilisation and even animal life seems to disappear before them, and their march may be tracked by the bodies of murdered peasants and the ruined habitations which they leave behind them. The country people, far and wide, fly from contact with them, transporting their little all to some place which they deem safer. On the banks of the river, beyond the territories thus laid waste, numbers of large, straw-built villages are now to be seen, hastily thrown up by the unfortunate refugees, who endeavour to support life by fishing, or by any other local employment which they can obtain. In all such places as we had an opportunity of visiting, the distress and misery of the inhabitants were beyond description. Large families were crowded together into low, small, tent-shaped wigwams, constructed of reeds, through the thin sides of which the cold wind whistled at every blast from the biting north. The denizens were clothed in rags of the most loathsome kind, and huddled together for the sake of warmth. The old looked cast down and unable to work from weakness, whilst that eager expression peculiar to starvation, never to be forgotten by those who have once witnessed it, was visible upon the emaciated features of the little children. With most it was a mere question of how many days

longer they might drag on their weary lives; whilst even the very moments of many seemed already numbered. The rebel ranks are swelled in two ways: first, by the capture of unwilling men; and, secondly, by those who, being deprived of all they have in this world by the invading marauders, have, as their only alternative, either to starve, or join their spoilers and thus obtain a subsistence by becoming spoilers themselves. The destructive policy of the rebels in this way serves them well. As we steamed from Nankin up the river, how we desired that all those good people at home, who wish the Tien-wanists well and pray daily for their success, could but make a similar voyage, and thus have an opportunity of judging for themselves regarding the two rival powers who are now struggling for mastery. When once you have passed clear from the last rebel outpost, and got some distance within the still Imperial territory, the contrast around could scarcely be believed without seeing it. The river which near the rebels is a great deserted highway, is there to be seen well covered with trading craft; highly cultivated farms stretch down to the water's edge, whilst neatly-built and snug-loooking villages and hamlets are scattered along both banks.

In the neighbourhood of Hankow, where the blackened house-gables show the traveller that it also had at one time shared in the misfortunes of Nankin, the work of rebuilding is going on steadily, and is likely to continue, as the exertions and energy of the present viceroy inspire an ever-increasing confidence in those whom he governs. The local authorities laugh at the notion of the rebels taking the place whilst they have, as they assert, 30,000 men in arms there.

Surely no good Christian could behold the misery, poverty, sickness and starvation existing in those regions, now subject to rebel inroads, and the comfort and happiness which most undeniably, as a general rule, is enjoyed by those under the Imperial rule, and still wish to see the former extended. It is a grand mistake to imagine that the people of China are harshly treated or bowed down by the cruelty of their Tartar governors. That the Imperial Government is as contemptible from its ignorance as from its weakness, I grant; but it is as far removed above that established at Nankin under the Tai-pings, as the true religion of our Lord and Saviour is above that set up by the impostor Tien-wan. If, as many dear, respectable, old ladies in England imagine, the rebel movement is so very desirable and calculated to confer such universal benefits upon all China, why is it that the cause is reprobated by every respectable man in the country? Why is it that no men of worth or station, no, not even of ordinary character, join its ranks? If the mass of the population were in its favour, Hien-fung could not reign for another day. Supposing, however, for argument's sake, that the religion and rule of Tien-wan *is* most desirable for China, are the good, peace-loving people of England prepared to say that they would desire to spread the Gospel at such a price as I have described that of the "Heavenly King's" rule to be? Is such the Christian spirit of the nineteenth century? If the people of England really wish to aid the vast Chinese nation effectually, they can do so now better than they have ever before had an opportunity of doing. I do not mean by sending out subscrip-

tions of Bibles, money, food, old clothes or sticking-plaster,—a liberal distribution of which good things, with many charitable people, bounds the limits of their views in all philanthropic exertions,—but I mean by preventing the disease and miseries which require such remedies. To my mind, the man who by a police establishment drives all highwaymen from the road, is a far more praiseworthy character than the man who looks on himself as a good Samaritan, while he contents himself with healing the wounds when they have been inflicted. It is now in England's power to do this for China. Let her announce to the rebels that we shall no longer stand by and witness their inhuman deeds; that being now in close alliance with the Emperor, we are determined to put down rebellion; and I believe most firmly that by such an announcement, and one blow struck at Nankin, in order to prove our sincerity, the whole rebel cause would collapse in a month. For such a blow we have at present ample force in China. To capture Nankin would be a very easy operation; and if it were once handed over to the Imperialists, Tien-wan would soon sink into his original insignificance. Such aid might be given, under certain stipulations, such as the publication of a general amnesty to all political offenders. It would confer the greatest possible benefit upon China which at present could be afforded her; it would be working out the general good of humanity, staying the hand of the murderer, giving peace to millions now in misery, and restoring a once happy and prosperous land to its former state. To England it would insure the full development of a trade with

every part of the Chinese empire, and in so bringing its people into frequent contact with us, open a door leading to at least a fair field for missionary work. The expense would be a mere nothing. The force now at Tien-tsin is twice as strong as what will be required there next year; and with half of it, aided by the gunboats and light draught craft now in the Chinese seas, Nankin might be handed over to the Imperialists before 1861 comes to a close. Our trade with China is of the greatest importance to us as a nation. It is all very well for some unpractical peace-at-any-price loving people to declare they will neither fight, like our bellicose neighbours, for an idea, nor, like sensible men of the world, when both justice and expediency point out the advisability of adopting active measures; but if the present state of disorder gains ascendancy in China, and spreads over the entire country, all native exportable produce will die out, and internal poverty will prevent any profitable demand for English goods. Trade will cease to exist, and the tea drinking associations will have to forego Bohea and take to some home-grown concoction of nastiness at their uninteresting but well meant festivities.

Nankin is but a shadow of its former self. Barely a tenth part of the houses once standing are now in existence.

Its walls are old, but massive, and are about eighteen miles in circumference; but no more than a third of the enclosed space had ever been built upon, the other two thirds being under tillage, or devoted to purposes of interment.

The walls are of brick, with the lower portion in many

places of sandstone; they average from forty to sixty feet in height, and are generally about forty feet in thickness. The city is nearly triangular in shape, the apex being towards the river. A small range of hills stand within the city, extending down the western face, in some places abutting upon the walls. There are now six gates, each defended by a triple line of ramparts, which at those places are over one hundred feet in thickness.

We were allowed to wander about the city unquestioned, the only difficulty ever experienced being at the gates, where the officers in charge occasionally stopped us, and put us to some annoyance, in order to pass either in or out. Even Chinamen are not permitted to enter without a passport, which those employed as coolies carrying in supplies have sewed to the front of their jackets, so as to be visible at all times. Crowds of idlers invariably followed us, and the opprobrious epithet of fan-qui (foreign devil) was far more generally used than I expected to have found it by a people professing to be our Christian brethren. When Kan-wan was asked how it was that the followers of the new dynasty persisted in retaining and using constantly the sobriquet which the Imperialists had always had for the English, he said that these words were a sort of intonation natural to a Chinaman when he saw any foreigner; that, in fact, it was more an exclamation of astonishment than of intended rudeness. He hoped, however, that when all the people became more accustomed to our presence, it would be entirely discontinued.

The Tartar quarter formed a regular fortified keep, resting upon the south-eastern face, or base of the

triangle, in which the city had been originally laid out. The victorious Tartars, when establishing their garrisons throughout the empire, seem to have carefully avoided placing them in the centres of cities, evidently preferring commanding positions somewhere along the original walls of the place, where they then constructed a small city for themselves, from which they domineered over the Chinese quarter. At Nankin all the buildings of the dominant race have been completely destroyed; their *débris* is now being used in the construction of the king's palaces, which are the only public works now in progress. Nankin is surrounded by gently sloping hills, which, towards the north-eastward, assume a rugged appearance, with pointed rocks and high cliffs showing themselves here and there. On some of these the rebels have constructed ridiculous outworks, which are quite incapable of defence if regularly attacked, and, if even cut off from communication with the garrison of the city, must surrender from want of water. To the north the ground, between the city walls and the low slopes of the hills, is mostly covered with water and deep marshes, which, strange to say, abound with pheasants. I have seen as many as thirty birds get up from a small piece of water-covered ground, not more than fifty yards square.

The Imperialists were for several years laying siege to Nankin, and during that time they constructed immense lines of works around it. Several of their large cannon are still to be seen lying about in the now ruined batteries or redoubts. They do not appear at any one point, however, to have endeavoured to carry their approaches near the city walls, but seem

to have contented themselves with drawing one continued line of ditch and parapet around them. Their intentions were to have starved the rebels out, in which they very nearly succeeded, but the besieged at last, under the pressure of want, made one grand sortie, in which they were successful, and the siege ended. Like most, if not all, of the rebel victories, it was chiefly attributable to disaffection in the Imperialist ranks. Large amounts of back pay were due to them; and as money is all in all to every Chinaman, none will undergo the hardships of a campaign for any long time without either regular pay or unlimited permission to plunder. These famous Imperialist lines have passed directly through the glorious old tombs of the Ming dynasty, which are now, consequently, fallen from their former magnificence. The rebels have been erecting some outworks in their vicinity, and are finishing the work of demolition by removing the bricks and cut stone from these once noble regal monuments. Those tombs cover several acres. A very large conical-shaped mound of earth is now the principal feature of the spot, almost all the buildings having been destroyed. For a long distance towards the city there are lines of stone statues, and curious monuments, some seemingly of a very great age. In all the human figures, the absence of the turned-up Tartar hat and long tail prove them to be of an age previous to the establishment of the present Mantchoo rule. There were very strange attempts at the representation of camels and elephants, all of colossal proportions, and also of some animals that I suppose were intended for tigers. The position of each was different; some were lying down, others sitting, &c. &c. The

far-famed porcelain tower is now a heap of ruins, having been blown up by gunpowder by Tien-wan's orders. It seems to have been an unmeaning act of Vandalism, ostensibly done to mark his abhorrence of the eastern king's treasonable designs, that potentate having had his camp in the immediate vicinity of the pagoda. It must have been a noble building, as the pieces of broken porcelain, now scattered about, testify to the beauty of the material used in its construction. Nankin in former times was famous for its splendid temples, almost all of which have now disappeared. The only large one now standing was that in which we had received quarters. It belonged to the Chung-wan, who had had it repaired lately, and fitted with fire-places, after the English fashion, for Mr. Roberts's accommodation; but as the place was on such a very large scale he had never moved into it. Attached to it, were some neatly laid out gardens, ornamented, after the usual Chinese taste, with ponds, islands, bridges, and fanciful-looking tea-houses of the kiosk sort; all the gods and indications of idolatry had been cleared away. Of all the houses I have ever been at in China, it was the cleanest; every room had been carefully whitewashed, and the floors were well swept.

Crowds of men and women came daily to see us; all were most good-humoured, and took considerable pleasure in examining our clothes, and watching us eat.

One evening a grand procession carrying lanthorns visited us. It was led by a number of men bearing on their heads the hollow representation of a dragon done in paper, and lit up from within by several candles: it was about twenty feet long, and was a most ridiculous

looking affair, as the irregular movements of its supporters gave it an undulating outline, which lent it a lifelike semblance.

The suburbs of the city are very poor; those near the river have been enclosed by a roughly-built brick wall, erected by the rebels. Along their faces there are some heavily-armed batteries, which engaged our squadron in 1858. Our naval artillery fire upon that occasion soon cleared them of defenders, and was then directed upon what was supposed to be the city; but as our officers were then ignorant of the locality, all our shot and shell, as we subsequently discovered, fell into the fields behind the suburbs.

The Tien-wan did not seem to relish the idea of our keeping a ship of war at Nankin, and at first informed us that he could not allow it; but when it had been explained to him that we had not gone there as suppliants to ask for anything, but merely to inform him that it was our admiral's intention to leave a ship there, he at once accepted the position, seeing there was nothing else for it. He was told that we had been sent to give him notice of our having made a treaty with the Imperial Government, in which it was agreed that the Yang-tse-kiang should be open to foreign trade, and that accordingly our merchants intended to send vessels up to Hankow immediately: that we intended establishing consulates there, and at Hu-kau and at Ching-kiang-foo. In order to prevent any misunderstandings arising between the Tai-ping authorities and our traders, a ship of war was to remain at Nankin, which would be backed up by seven or eight others, in the event of Tien-wan rendering such necessary by

opposing our intentions. In dealing with Asiatics it is useless asking for favours. If you require anything, the only plan is to take it quietly, informing the local authorities at the time in a straightforward manner that you intend doing so and so. To solicit anything of importance is to insure its refusal, and to accept such is an admission of inferiority which will subsequently preclude all chance of their dealing equitably with you as a nation. The Tsan-wan, through whom we carried on our communications with the rebel "King of Kings," proposed to us that we should pay the Kan-wan a visit, and talk the matter over with him. He is a clear-headed fellow, and has had better opportunities than the other chiefs of learning our customs and of forming a fair estimate of our power. He has great influence with his cousin, and the Tsan-wan inferred that if he would represent the circumstances to the Tien-wan all difficulty would be removed. The Kan-wan was then, he said, about thirty miles from Nankin, where he was encamped with a very large army. As we were naturally most anxious to have an opportunity of seeing one of the rebel armies in the field, we gladly accepted the offer, agreeing to start that same evening, when it was arranged that boats should be ready for our accommodation. When the time for starting arrived we were told that we could not leave until the following morning, when again we were put off, and so on, some excuse about boats or weather being trumped up whenever we applied for the fulfilment of their promises. It was evident that the Tsan-wan repented of having asked us to make the journey, and not having the honesty to confess it, resorted to the obstructive policy so characteristic of his race.

CHAP. XV.

DIARY OF A VOYAGE UP THE YANG-TSE-KIANG FROM NANKIN TO HANKOW, WITH DESCRIPTIONS OF THE SCENERY, ETC. — STAY AT HANKOW, AND INTERVIEW THERE WITH THE TARTAR VICEROY OF THE PROVINCE. — RETURN TO SHANGHAI.

During my stay at Nankin, the Yang-tsi, a splendid steamer belonging to Messrs. Dent and Company, arrived there, with the intention of proceeding up the river to Hankow. Having been kindly offered a passage in her by one of the firm, who happened to be on board, I gladly availed myself of the invitation. Admiral Hope's squadron of small vessels had left Woosung upon the 12th February, bound for Hankow; but as they were continually getting ashore, their progress was so slow that they had not reached Nankin by the morning of the 28th of that month when I left that place in the Yang-tsi. The navigation of the river below Ching-kiang is very difficult, as the channels are continually shifting their position, so that sailing with a squadron is slow work. In some places the current is so rapid, that some of our gunboats steamed against it with difficulty. As but few incidents worthy of note occurred during our voyage to Hankow, and as the scenery has been already so accurately described by Mr. Oliphant, I shall merely extract from my journal, in which I dotted them down each evening, the events of the day.

28*th February*. — Fine clear morning: got under weigh at eight o'clock A. M. Left the Kiang-tse province and passed into that of Ngan-wei, at about twenty miles above Nankin. Anchored at noon at Tai-ping-fu, which is a large city about a mile and a half from the river. It is in the hands of the rebels. A high pagoda stands near the landing-place. It was at this place that we had heard the Kan-wan was stationed with his army, and for which we were to have started some days previously under Chinese guidance, as I have already described. We found, however, upon reaching Tai-ping-fu, that he had left, and was then at Wu-hu. We started again in the afternoon, and had the misfortune to get into shallow water nearly opposite the village marked on the charts as Tang-tu, standing upon the right bank. The channel to the west of Wade Island seemed to be the best, and is always taken by vessels not putting into Tai-ping.

At the distance of about forty-five miles above Nankin, we passed the "Pillars," where the river narrows to about fourteen hundred yards, running between the two granite bluffs, called the "Pillars," of about two hundred feet in height.

The rebels have fortified the position strongly after their fashion, having constructed numerous batteries upon the high slopes, connecting them by a brick wall. As regards the trade on the river, the rebels have shown much discernment in selecting that position, from whence they can prevent any boats passing up or down. Point Morton, four miles higher up the river, is a grass-covered hill about five hundred feet high. Six and a half miles further on again, is the town of Wu-hu, a small

walled-in place, standing upon a creek which empties itself into the river. There is a fine-looking old pagoda within the city. We anchored there for the night. Saw a considerable number of cattle upon the right bank during the day, particularly in the neighbourhood of Tai-ping, where there seemed to be a very large force encamped. I believe that a large number of soldiers were being collected there for an advance up the river. Wu-hu is in the hands of the rebels, and seemed to be the most prosperous possession they have. The suburb upon the river-bank has been enclosed with a castellated wall, and now rendered of more importance than the city itself. In it live all the authorities of the place. There are some insignificant mud forts upon the opposite bank of the river, the flanking towers of which are of masonry.

1*st March.*—Business ashore prevented us from starting at day-break, as my friend had intended. The captain of our ship was very anxious to obtain a bullock for his men; so he landed early in the morning for the purpose of seeing the head man of the place, who had promised to supply us with meat the evening before. Upon reaching his house, the captain was informed by the attendants there, that their master was absent from home, having left early in the morning to see an army which was just starting on its way "to glory." Knowing the mendacious character of all Chinamen, the captain preferred ascertaining the fact for himself, so he pushed on into the dingy little apartment, which was the audience hall. He seated himself at the upper end, where there was a green curtain hung across the room, which touched his chair as he sat, and en-

deavoured by signs to communicate his intentions to the unwashed rabble that had followed him into the place. Whilst so employed, he felt his coat tails pulled several times by some one behind the screen, where he at last discovered the presence of several women, all anxious to feel his clothes. Watching his opportunity, he at last succeeded in clutching a pretty little hand, by which he was pulled within the curtain in the girl's endeavours to free herself. To his astonishment he found himself in the sleeping apartment of the rebel official who had been declared absent, but who sat up in his bed when he saw him. He seemed to have just awoke, and looked stupidly around, the effects of the opium which he had evidently been smoking, as the place was filled with its fumes, not having had time to pass off. Around him lay his five wives, all gushing looking females, two of them really pretty. He must have been very drunk, indeed, when he had retired to rest, for he had not undressed, which is very peculiar with Chinamen, who mostly sleep quite naked. His dirty-looking yellow silk robes of the Imperial hue were crumpled up about him, and altogether his appearance then was highly disreputable and most unbecoming for one very exalted in position. His wives wore light under-clothing of yellow silk crape, with wide pajamas of green satin. They were not the least disconcerted by this sudden apparition of a barbarian in their sleeping apartment, but evidently thought the whole affair very good fun. The half-tipsy old dignitary did not seem to be annoyed at what would be, amongst the better classes in China, the greatest possible breach of etiquette. A pretty-looking little girl brought

in a basin of warm water, and soaking a towel in it, she rubbed her lord and master's face over, polishing him up, in somewhat the same rough manner that a housemaid at home does the face of a hall clock. Close by where this miserable looking official residence stood, a new one on a grand scale is in course of erection, but it will be a long time before it can be ready for "his Excellency's reception."

Here, as at all other places along the river, the first question asked us was, "what have you got for sale?" They were very anxious to purchase arms. Breach-loading carbines are their peculiar vanity; double-barrelled pistols are also in great request.

They said they would furnish our merchants with any amount of tea in exchange for powder and other munitions of war; they did not want dollars. They are very anxious to buy steamers. We left Wu-hu at eleven A.M. About four miles higher up we passed what had once been the flourishing village of Su-kiang, now merely a collection of house-gables and piles of loose rubbish. A considerable force was seemingly *en route* through it, so that the ruined place, with its surrounding earthen entrenchments, seemed alive with men waving blue banners. The rebels do not hold any country higher up just here, and Su-kiang is, I believe, their outpost, the Imperialists holding Saushun, which is scarcely seven miles higher up, and also on the right bank. This is about the usual distance at which they fight; they seldom approach much nearer one another. The country between the two outposts is flat. A large creek, which is indeed a small branch of the Yang-tse, rejoins its parent river at Saushun.

There was a large number of junks in it, whilst others were coming and going from points higher up. A large boom was stretched across at its confluence, as a protection against the inroads of rebel craft. Three and a half miles further on the river makes a bend at right angles to its former course, and, turning sharp round Point Haines, follows its general direction, that is, south-west. Five miles further on, over a deep channel of eight and nine fathoms, the river narrowing to about half a mile, Yang-kia-sun is reached, where the river bifurcates, and where the branch which falls in at Saushun commences. Here was a vast plain dotted over in every direction with straw huts and rows of houses, made of wattle and daub. The Imperialists had made this their winter quarters, and hutted themselves in comfortably. On the opposite bank also were large numbers similarly housed. As we passed, the manner in which all these little straw cells gave forth their inmates, who crowded out to gaze upon the barbarian "fire ship," put one in mind of the overturning of a bee-hive.

They were all soldiers, and although there was a fair proportion of boys amongst the herd, not one single woman showed herself, a clear proof that there were none of the fair sex in camp. On the left bank there were some very extensive fieldworks, but although I counted numbers of embrasures, I could not make out any cannon. We took the southern channel, that is, we left what is called Barker Island in the chart on the starboard side.

This channel is much the smaller of the two, not being in many places more than about four or five

hundred yards across, but it is said to have deeper water. About half way up its course stands the town of Kien-hien (the town that was), with its antiquated-looking pagoda, standing on a small hill to the north-east of the town, and distant from it nearly a mile. Some three miles further on, the river winds gradually south, making a reach of about five miles in that direction. Half way down it, stands the little rocky island of Pants-ki, a very narrow channel only separating it from the right bank. This small isle was covered here and there with trees and brushwood, through which peeped out the deep red rocks, whilst on top its ruined or unfinished pagoda nestled picturesquely in the ferns and long waving grass of many colours. From the point on the bank opposite this rock, a fine range of hills trends away towards the east, each succeeding knoll becoming higher and higher, until at last an eminence of nearly fifteen hundred feet is attained, from which height they seem in the distance gradually to dwindle away until they are lost altogether in the blue haze which hangs over the distant plains. About a mile and a half further on is situated the pretty village of Teih-kiang, where a small creek or mountain stream, I know not which, falls into the river. The hills which I have just mentioned throw off a spur southward towards this creek, upon whose craggy point, and clustering around its base, the houses constituting the village have been built. Those who first selected Teih-kiang as the site for a village, must have been lovers of fine scenery. Even at this time of year, when the sky is cloudy, the trees almost leafless, and everything

looking damp and sullen, the spot is peculiarly pretty, causing one to feel a strong desire to see it at a more favourable season, during the bright noon of a summer's day or the subdued light of an autumn evening. All the country about this place is now in the hands of the Imperialists, who are apparently as fond of building forts and throwing up fieldworks (which, when attacked, they never defend), as their enemies the rebels. On the right bank, about a mile below Pants-ki, we passed a large square fort, evidently new, and, strange to say, built at about a thousand yards distance from the river.

For the next twenty miles there are no features worthy of attention: low muddy banks are seen with, here and there, some miserable hamlets scattered along the river's side, evidently built lately, and affording but sorry cover for their exiled inmates, who had been driven from their happy homes by the rebels, the enemies of all that is good or respectable in China.

Beyond what is called Osborn Reach, in our charts, the river again bends towards the south, at the village of Sean-shan-meaou. Some nine or ten miles further on, upon the left bank, there is a small walled-in village, standing close to the water. Its defences seemed to be in good repair. A large number of soldiers crowded upon the ramparts as we passed in close to the place, all gazing in silent wonder at the great monster vessel going along without sails, against a strong current, at ten miles an hour. Beyond this village the river makes a long straight reach for some thirteen or fourteen miles due south, high ranges of hills forming the horizon upon both sides, those upon the left bank attaining a

height of a thousand feet in some places; those opposite, known as the "Wild Boar Hills," are some two or three miles from the river, towards which, however, they throw off numerous spurs, some ending abruptly in steep red cliffs, formed by the action of the current sweeping away the soft earth. We anchored for the night at half-past six P.M., when it had become too dark to proceed safely any further. We had made about sixty-five miles. The weather was cold with a biting north wind all day.

2nd March.—Started at daybreak. Cold, raw morning, under the influence of which the scenery, never very pretty, appeared most uninteresting. Passed Lang-kiang-ke, or "Hen Point." It is formed of high, sharp-pointed rocks, dotted along in a straight line from the low hills on the right bank, stretching out like stepping-stones almost half-way across the stream. The water was high when we passed, so that only the very tops of the largest of these stones were visible, looking so small at a distance, that, at first, we mistook them for wild geese. From thence to Jocelyn Island, a distance of four miles nearly due south, a range of small hills on the right bank run parallel with the river. The country on the left bank is flat, muddy, and hideous, with patches of marshy land in some places. The current is intensely rapid wherever the river narrows considerably, so that, even with our powerful engines, we made our way past such spots very slowly. Screw steamers are not adapted for this work. After heavy rains in the mountain districts, the volume of water in the river must be immense. As we passed any cliffs, we could trace the high-water

mark upon them very plainly, about fourteen feet above the present level of the river. Four miles above Jocelyn Island, upon the left bank, is the city of Ngan-king, the capital of the Ngan-wei province. It is held by the rebels and closely besieged by the Imperialists, whose lines completely encircle it. A rebel army has lately arrived here to relieve it, but they have contented themselves with hemming in the besieging Imperialists. It is a strange sight which these three forces present one within the other in concentric semicircles.

There are some few forts on the opposite bank held by his Celestial Majesty's troops, and a strong Imperial fleet watches the river just above the place, so that if all did their duty with even good faith, the city must have long since been surrendered from want of provisions; but I was told by a Chinaman there that the garrison actually purchase supplies from the soldiers of the besieging force. The garrison appeared numerous, and crowded upon the walls to see us.

The surrounding country is mostly held by the Imperialists, under whom the country presents some little life. Trade seems even to be reviving, and the river has fleets of junks plying about over it: a great contrast with the regions overrun by Tien-wan's followers, where all is desolation and want. There is great elasticity in the Chinese character, and commerce, although perhaps destroyed for a time, soon springs up again, when any settled form of government has been established. Ngan-king has been a place of importance: its large suburb is now a ruined mass, but the city walls are in good repair. The fortifications have been lately strengthened, and several new outworks added to

them. Some small enclosed batteries have been erected upon the river's bank, underneath the city walls.

The channel for large vessels is close by them, so that with good guns, and men to work them, no ship could pass the place against the wishes of those who might be in possession of the city.

Several shots were exchanged by the belligerent parties whilst we were passing, but there did not seem to be any energy or bustle in the ranks of either side. The siege has now lasted for several years, and judging from the little progress hitherto made, it is likely to vie with the siege of Troy as regards length of duration. I never saw less impassioned combatants. Our soldiers at an Aldershot review are more excited than the men of the armies around this place.

Their fighting consists in discharging occasionally a few guns, which are frequently unshotted. The organisation of the Imperialist military force is quite as contemptible as that of the rebels. They have nothing to gain by victory, and so prefer doing nothing to exposing themselves to the risk of death or wounds. Above Ngan-king the general direction of the river for nearly five-and-twenty miles, is almost due south. Christmas Island is four miles above that city, and Tung-liu, twenty miles further on. It is walled in the usual Chinese fashion, the fortifications stretching away up the hill behind it. About a mile below the town there is a handsome pagoda which looks as if recently built.

From Tung-liu to Dove Point, a distance of sixteen miles towards the east, there are high ranges of hills, wooded in some parts, from which long spurs reach down to the river.

At Dove Point the river bends away westerly, describing a semicircle, with the convex side towards the north. Passing round it, and making south-west, the Seaou-ku-shan, or "Little Orphan Rock," comes in view, being about six miles off as you round the curve. It was then getting dark, and as we should not have been able to have got through the narrow channel near the rock before daylight ceased altogether, we anchored. The weather has been cold all day, with a nasty drizzling rain, the only change to which was when it poured down heavily, as it did occasionally. We passed some very large flocks of wild fowl during the morning, but never got within range of them; the loud splashing of our paddles scared them away.

3rd March.—Under weigh at daybreak. It had rained heavily during the night, and the morning was cold and dreary, with a fine, light rain, which saturated our clothes far more quickly than a regular downpour. A cold wind blew, which sometimes came rushing on in strong gusts, giving the river quite a sea-like appearance. The Little Orphan Rock looked bleak and ugly, rising from its bed of rough, dirty water, which broke against its steep sides in regular waves. It stands close to the left bank, from which it is only separated by a narrow channel. A pagoda-shaped temple crowns its highest point, around which stood the leafless stems of many small trees, now bending backwards and forwards with the cold blast which swept over the rock. The impression left upon the mind by scenery is very dependent upon the state of the weather under which it has been seen. I know

that all who have seen this spot, when lit up by the golden tints of a summer afternoon, have pronounced the view glorious ; and I can quite imagine its being so ; but my remembrances of it are far from pleasing. It is too intimately associated, in my mind, with the cold chilly wind, which made me repent having turned out of bed so early to inspect the scenery. I would warn all tourists against river excursions in this part of the world during either the months of February or March. The left bank of the river was flat and muddy looking, but upon the right stands a fine, rugged range of hills, of from five to seven hundred feet high. They run parallel to the bank for six miles, upon which they touch here and there, sometimes ending in bluff points overhanging the river, which sweeps past more like a mountain-torrent after a flood than one of the largest rivers in the world. Some of these cliffs are four hundred feet high ; one stretches down into the stream opposite the Seaou-ku-shan, narrowing the channel under it to about seven hundred yards. To the south of this projecting spur there is a small village, or rather a number of scattered houses, nestling close in amongst the rocky hollows, lending a glimpse of civilisation to this otherwise dreary locality. Stretching along in front of these few human habitations was a stone loop-hooled wall, having a curved unsystematic tracing, extending backwards over the hill behind, and including within its enclosed space the bluff point on the river's bank.

The absurd places over which the Vaubans of China carry their defensive works, has often been described before in books upon this country ; but of all the many

absurd examples I have hitherto seen, this exceeds them all in absurdity.

We reached Hu-kau at ten A.M. It is situated upon the right bank of the short river which carries the water of the Poyang lake into the Yang-tse-kiang, and is just a mile above their confluence. It was formerly a place of considerable trade, as all the produce exported from the rich provinces surrounding the lake paid custom in passing it. With the exception of the walls and a few official residences, but very little now remains of the town. A very large portion of the space enclosed could never have been built upon, as the inclination of the ground is too steep. As you turn from the Yang-tse-kiang into the Poyang lake river, the view in fine weather must be very grand. It was dark and cloudy as we reached it; still even the most unartistic eye could perceive there the elements for scenic beauty, and all those varied natural components which serve to convert rugged hills and bleak cliffs into picturesque landscapes. The reach of the Yang-tse by which you approach this spot runs south-westerly; the Poyang lake river takes the same direction, and as it is as wide as the Great Stream, it looks more like the continuance of it than does the narrow channel which, turning off to the right, nearly due west, leads to Hankow. As you approach this spot, a range of hills runs parallel with the bank on the southern side. As you pass Point Otter, the high, bold rock upon which the Hu-kau monastery stands is directly before you, projecting out into the stream, so as almost to hide all view of the town itself. Its sides are nearly perpendicular, and present every

variety of colour, from the deepest red to the brightest green.

Lichens and mosses cling around its many crevices, and bushes seem in some places to spring from the very rock itself.

At its base, where the water sweeps past in eddying currents, the rock has been worn away considerably, and split up in some places into numerous little caves, the tops of which showed themselves over the surface, probably the homes of the porpoises who roll about in swarms in their vicinity.

The buildings above possess nothing peculiar about them, unless it be that their condition seemed to be a little better cared for than is usual with the public edifices of the empire. They had been all lately whitewashed. They consisted of the usual quaint houses, with turned-up roof-eaves, trellised balconies, and paper windows seen everywhere in China. We left Hu-kau in the afternoon, and steamed along through the narrow channel south of Oliphant Island, which is a dreary expanse of mud, where, however, the industrious Chinaman has established gardens and erected a few houses.

About half way up this channel, the hills, which thus far we had only seen in the distance, across the low, triangularly-shaped land, of which Point Otter is the eastern extremity, approached close to the river's bank, ending abruptly in high, reddish cliffs. As we emerged from the narrow channel into the wide stream of the main river, the pagoda of Kew-kiang, standing upon a high point, came in view, and shortly afterwards the long river face of the city itself. It is on the right bank,

and was once a place of great trade. Like all the cities which have ever fallen into the rebels' hands, it suffered considerably, but is now slowly recovering. A very large suburb stood upon the western side of the city, extending along the river bank for about a mile, to where a creek joins the Yang-tse. This was all destroyed by the rebels; but a considerable portion of it has been lately restored, and the work of renewal is still going on, notwithstanding Tien-wan's declared intention of seizing every town along the Yang-tse this year. There was a large number of junks in the creek, and the shops in the city were carrying on a good business, so that if spared from rebel attacks it promises soon to regain its former importance.

A fine stone-built river wall runs along parallel with the city walls; it is ruinous in some places, and unless soon repaired, will disappear altogether.

Although it had been raining all day, great crowds of people came off, both at Hu-kau and Kew-kiang to see us. At the former place we admitted those who arrived first, until at last the vessel was literally covered with them. Wondering Chinamen peered into every corner, from the stoke-hole to our own private cabins. The scramble at the bottom of the companion-ladder was most ludicrous. Men of all ages and stations in life struggling to make good their footing there, which, with the host of boats about and the rapid stream running, was no very easy matter. Each boatman endeavoured to push himself on, by shoving his neighbour's wherry back. Sometimes an energetic passenger with a boathook would grapple on to our steamer by some ring-bolt, but others near, availing themselves of

his exertions, would seize hold of the side or stern of his boat, when, unable to sustain the greatly increased drag upon his arms, he was forced to let go, sometimes before he could extricate his boathook, which, consequently, fell either into the water, or upon the cranium of some luckless fellow-countryman, who, perhaps, wrapt up in silent contemplation of the wondrous ship before him, was first roused to consciousness by the violent blow. How it was that in such a jostling no boat was capsized is quite a marvel. Under similar circumstances in England, the coroner would most certainly have had to do his duty, in pronouncing the verdict of "found drowned," over the cold, wet body, of some fellow-citizen upon the morning following. One accident only occurred. A burly Chinaman, finding that he could not succeed in getting his boat alongside the ship's sponson, and becoming impatient, endeavoured to step from his boat into the one alongside, and so from thence make his way to the vessel. Unhappily for him his own boat sheered away just as he was in the act of stepping from it; hesitating a moment as to whether he should go on or regain his former position, he illustrated the truth of the old saying, about "between two stools," &c. &c. Want of decision was his ruin, and he toppled over with a great splash into the water. A Chinaman seldom takes any trouble to save a drowning man, but here was an exception. A good Samaritan made a grapple at him, and succeeded in catching hold of his tail, which he twisted round his wrist, and so drew him slowly up. As soon as his head and shoulders were well over water,

he varied the good Samaritan's part, for, instead of pouring oil upon his wounds, he commenced belabouring him with a stout stick most severely. He seemed determined to punish him for the trouble he had given, and the poor, half-drowned sufferer, seemed to feel his error and the justice of his chastisement, for he strove in no way to avoid the heavy whacks which followed one after another in rapid succession, and evinced no disposition to retaliate.

At Kew-kiang the crowds of people that flocked from all quarters to the beach, for the purpose of gazing at us, was very great. Some few women even came off in boats to inspect the ship. Their method of dressing the hair differs greatly from that usual at the other parts of the empire where I have been. Instead of the elaborate *coiffure* fashionable in the south, the hair is simply all brushed off the forehead and twisted back in one thick mass, and then doubled back again, or, as sailors would call it, "sheep-shanked."

4th March.—Left Kew-kiang in the afternoon and anchored for the night off "Wu-hiu-tsun," the country lying between those two points being low and uninteresting, dotted here and there with small villages. The last-named place is a large unwalled town or village, situated upon the left bank, where the country around is quite level. Upon the opposite side, however, there are some high ranges of hills about two or three miles from the river beyond Hunter Island. We have now left the province of Ngan-wei altogether, which does not extend further up than the Poyang lake. Hu-quang then commences, but does not stretch across to

the right bank, until you reach about four miles beyond Wu-hiu-tsun, the province of Kyang-si (which had commenced about ten miles above Tsung-liu), extending to that point. The day has been wet and disagreeable.

5*th March.*—Got under weigh a little after daybreak. The weather lovely, with a bright sunshine, lending quite a different aspect to the scenery around. Strange to say, as if in honour of the change, the trees showed signs of leaves, and some were already green. The country everywhere looked prosperous, the villages in good order, and the river abounding in trading craft of all sizes, from the stately four-masted junk of great proportions and quaint carvings, to the little covered-in chop, with its solitary mast and tattered square sail.

High hills, with many ranges still higher and higher behind them, bound the view on both sides of the river, nearly from Wu-hiu-tsun to Collinson Island. Every variety of colouring was exhibited upon these hills. In the valleys between them, pleasant, prosperous-looking villages showed off the natural beauty of the country by the contrast of their whitewashed walls with the dark evergreens and sombre cliffs around them. Twenty miles above Wu-hiu-tsun is the walled city of Kechan, enclosing within its *enceinte* a small hill about a hundred feet high, which, being closely built over with houses, gives an undulating appearance to the far-stretching surface of house-tops. There is a considerable suburb without the walls, and a quaint little island stands opposite to it in the river, upon which are the ruins of some defensive works. For several miles before reaching Kechan the river narrows considerably, so that in many places it is not more than four hundred

yards across. At Kechan it widens again, and maintains an average width of about a mile for some distance, when the surrounding hills again press in upon the stream, reducing its width to six or seven hundred yards. About ten miles above Kechan the river has the appearance of a lake, in the centre of which it is difficult for the spectator to distinguish any outlet from it. There are some picturesque hills at about two or three miles from the right bank, the intervening space being highly cultivated and thickly studded with villages and farmhouses. The narrow outlet from thence is where a long spur shoots down from the highest point of these hills, ending in a curiously-shaped promontory known as Ke-tow, or the "Cock's Head;" why, I cannot fancy, as it resembles a cock's tail quite as closely. The current sweeps past it at a tremendous pace.

Taking this spot as a centre, the country for about four or five miles around on all sides is certainly the most lovely of any between the dreary mud flats near Woosung, and the thickly-built-upon banks at Hankow. Three miles above Ke-tow is the Lee Rock, which is never, I believe, visible above water. As it is very nearly in mid channel, it makes the spot dangerous for ships, particularly as a shelving bank stretches out in the same direction from the left bank, between which and the rock lies the deep water. In trying to avoid Scylla our captain unfortunately struck hard Charybdis, where we remained all the afternoon, and only succeeded at last in getting off by pumping out one of the boilers and lightening the ship forward. When at last we did get afloat there was no wind to make a draught through the furnaces, without which our coal would

not burn; so it was late before we got up enough steam to send us along. We anchored at seven o'clock in the evening near Paho, a large unwalled place, built upon both sides of a creek where it falls into the river through the left bank. The water in this creek was of the brightest blue colour, and looked pretty and peculiar close by the muddy yellow Yang-tse-kiang.

This has been the first really enjoyable day that we have had since we left Shanghai. A detention is generally a bore, but I cannot say that I felt ours to-day in any way disagreeable, occurring as it did in such a lovely spot of the river. Close by the Lee Rock there are several villages upon the right bank, all the country around being well farmed. A considerable portion of the hill-sides there have been cut away for the sake of the limestone found there, from which large quantities of lime are burnt.

Under weigh at daybreak, but had not proceeded more than about a ship's length from the spot where we had anchored the previous evening, when we touched the ground. It was most fortunate that we had stopped where we did yesterday; for had we been going at full speed when we touched the bottom, we should have had much difficulty in getting off, whereas a few revolutions astern of our huge paddles forced us off easily.

The country upon the right bank was undulating, with small hills of a very broken and volcanic appearance reaching down nearly to the river. Bold rocks of granite at some places showed above the surface, and huge boulders were scattered about, one in particular rising to about fifty feet in height. The opposite bank was flat and ugly. Six miles above Paho we

came to the walled city of Wu-chang-hien on the right bank, and three miles further on to Hwang-chau, also a walled-in place and standing on the left bank. Both are commanded by hills in their immediate neighbourhood, over the lower spurs of which their walls extend. Each city has a pagoda, and a considerable suburb without the fortifications. At the latter place the river divides into two channels, separated by numerous sand-banks, with a little cultivation visible upon the largest. We took the western channel, which, although narrower, has deeper water than the eastern passage. Seven miles higher up is Gravener Island, as it is called in our charts. It is between three and four miles long, and highly cultivated; and, judging from the great number of houses, its population must be very large. The straggling town of Sang-kiang-kow, extends from its southern extremity nearly half way along its entire length. Beyond this island the river bends round, forming an acute angle, the apex of which is a mass of half-covered sand-banks, which make the navigation there very difficult, so much so, that our captain, who who was very seldom at fault, was obliged to anchor and send out a boat to sound for deep water. It is very much to be regretted that our naval surveyors have not retained the native Chinese names for places more frequently than they have done. It is all very well to name points along a sea-coast line by familiar titles, and it is doubtless highly gratifying to Lords of the Admiralty to have their names handed down to posterity by having capes, bays, or uninhabited islands, named after them; but when this peculiarly salt-water fashion is carried into practice in the interior of a thickly

inhabited country, it reduces the value of all maps made upon such principles. From Gravener Island to Hankow the river is ugly, the only pretty spots being near Pih-lu-shan, "Tiger Hill," on the right bank, and the prosperous-looking village of Yang-lo opposite to it. We passed a great many timber rafts floating down the river, upon which those employed in steering them had constructed houses, showing they had come from a great distance. Along the banks at several places during to-day's voyage I saw large stacks of timber, and numbers of saw-pits where it was being cut up into planks &c. &c. We anchored off Hankow at four o'clock P.M., in twelve fathoms of water, close by the confluence of the river Han with the Yang-tse. We were all surprised at the size and appearance of the place. I had read several descriptions of it, but none had conveyed any idea of its actual extent. Upon both sides of the river, almost as far as the eye could see, the houses appeared one behind the other, closely packed at all points. The locality commonly known as Hankow includes the city of that name, and those of Han-yang and Wu-chang-foo, the last upon the right bank of the Yang-tse, the two former upon its left — Han-yang standing upon the right bank of the Han river, where it falls into the Yang-tse, Hankow immediately opposite to it. The river bank opposite to where we lay was about five-and-twenty feet high, the streets reaching to its very edge. At some places a break in the rows of houses testifies to the ruin once caused here by the rebels; the work of rebuilding is going on rapidly now, houses and shops springing up daily from the piles of ruins about.

The river Han was densely crowded with trading junks, and large numbers lay in the main river, off Hankow and Wu-chang. The large-sized vessels here differ from those seen in the south, being more substantially built and better finished, without any of that "gingerbread" work about them for which such craft are generally famous. A number of small wherries attracted our attention immediately upon arrival, from their being painted a bright red, and plying unceasingly about. At first we thought that they belonged to the custom-house, having something of the official look about them, but upon inquiry we discovered them to be lifeboats!! Men who had lived long in China laughed at the notion when it was first told to them. At all other places in the empire the boat people evince such a recklessness of life, and an indifference about death, that such a humane institution here seems strange in the extreme. At Canton it is well known that when a boat upsets—by no means an uncommon occurrence —the people in the sampans near never render any assistance to the drowning, nor will a Chinaman, usually, even put himself to the trouble of extending a hand to save a fellow-creature.

Crowds of people assembled on the banks to gaze in wonder at us, and, judging from the swarm of small boats continually around our vessel, the wherrymen must have had a fine harvest during our stay. Upon landing, the multitude that pressed in upon us was prodigious, so much so, that I really felt, at one time as if the whole four hundred millions of people said to be in China were at our heels and

around us, as we walked briskly through the narrow streets of Hankow. To stop was to be lost: our only chance of escaping the pressure was to keep moving at a smart pace, which soon told upon our long-tailed friends, who were obliged to go at a jog-trot in order to keep up with us. The fat, paunchy shopkeepers soon tailed off, leaving in our wake only those "nasty little boys," who, in the greatest glee, ran after us, shouting, tumbling over one another, falling into gutters, or standing upon some bigger boy's toes, who immediately punched the delinquent's head.

Little boys are the same all over the world, and of all animals the most essentially detestable everywhere. I am sure that those who die in boyhood can never go to heaven. "The happy hunting-ground" would be a bear-garden-like settlement were they allowed an entrance there. Purgatory itself would be a pleasing change, affording a kind of retired life, after the din, noise, and vexation of any spot to which the genus little boy had the *entrée*. One, two or three are bad enough, requiring a great amount of caning to keep in order; but when their number is to be reckoned only by hundreds, endurance is no longer to be talked of. To halt for a moment to punish some flagrant offender is only to expose your back to dozens who assail you, tearing your coat tails off, or perhaps tripping you up. Although not alluded to in Sacred Writ, I am sure they form a considerable item in the ills and miseries entailed, by the sin of our first parents, upon a residence in this world. To live by the sweat of one's brow might be borne with patience, were we allowed to enjoy our moments

of leisure without the annoyance and irritating presence of infantesimal man. Like most little boys, however, those at Hankow were good-humoured, and confined their annoyances to shouting. Once or twice a small piece of brick was thrown at us, but with no violence, and, seemingly, intended more to try our temper than to hurt us bodily. Upon such occasions we halted, and gave them to understand, by our looks and gestures, that we were not to be trifled with.

During the latter part of our stay there we used to hear the adult portion of the population chiding and abusing their juvenile friends for following us, knowing how much we disliked it. I fear that our people who have been here before could not have been as forbearing as we were; for the first request made by the officials who boarded us upon arrival, was that we should not beat the people who followed us.

The streets of Hankow resemble closely those of Canton. As you look up them there are the same amount of placard boards and painted planks hanging along each side, announcing the trade and name of each proprietor. The shop advertisements are very like those we have in England, inviting the attention of the public to the cheapness of the articles for sale, and warning all that "there is no second price." The streets are well paved and wider than those of Canton. The houses are well built and prettily ornamented with wood carvings and cut stone mouldings. The inhabitants looked a thriving, busy people, well dressed, and most anxious to be civil. All declared themselves charmed at the prospect of British merchants establishing themselves there; from which they anticipated both

an increased protection from the rebels and a great improvement in their commercial prospects The local officials evinced a different spirit from what they had shown in 1858, sparing no pains or trouble to show us every civility. The town of Hankow is commanded by a blue button mandarin, whose rank corresponded with a major in our army, according to the code of relative precedency established between the two nations. His name was Lee, so we always called him Major Lee in speaking of him. He was perpetually coming on board our ship at all sorts of odd hours, so that at last he became rather a bore. He appeared very desirous of mixing himself up in commercial matters, volunteering information as to prices, resources of the country, &c. &c. and inquiring the value of all importable commodities.

He insisted upon our honouring his house by being present there at a theatrical performance, which he got up for our amusement, entertaining us in the most sumptuous manner with what he called a "Tartar dinner," between which, however, and an ordinary Chinese banquet, the only remarkable difference was, that we were supplied with forks and handsomely carved metal spoons. The usual bill of fare of birds'-nest soup, sharks' fins, sea-slugs, hard-boiled eggs that had been buried for years, &c. &c., were served up in some forty or fifty courses; there was no rice, but plenty of sweet cakes and confections, some of which were really very good. The theatricals were of the same uninteresting nature for Europeans, as are to be seen at any of the provincial towns of the empire. The plays are generally historical, and always relate to events prior to the Tartar conquest, the dresses being

those of the Chinese dynasties. The performers were all men. As a rule this is always the case; but I have known of one company which, on the other hand, were all women. In acting the voice is made to appear as unnatural as possible, every word being pronounced in a thin, squeaky manner, at the highest pitch of a falsetto. The men wear those odd-looking beards and whiskers to be seen at home in waxwork representations of Chinamen, consisting of an imperial about a foot long, and a single tuft of the same length pendent from each cheek. During the performance they keep continually stroking these with an air of pomposity that quite partakes of buffoonery.

In one of the pieces then acted, a heavy fall of snow was represented by quantities of thin white paper in very small pieces being showered down upon the stage. No attempts are ever made at scenic effect; the stage is always the same; and the performers have to depend entirely upon brilliancy of acting and expression for the development of the piece. As the language used is always the Mandarin dialect, by far the greater proportion of the audience do not understand what they hear.

Our friend's house was very nicely laid out. The place of entertainment consisted of a small square garden surrounded with buildings, and was roofed in for the occasion. At one end was a large suite of rooms, in the finest of which our feast was provided. The stage was upon the opposite side, the intervening space being laid out with flowers and ornamental stonework, well lit up by coloured lamps and hanging lanthorns of all shapes and sizes. Our host was most

officious, and with the usual etiquette of the country, tried to make us eat a far greater quantity of all the expensive nastiness provided for us than we desired. Our cups were continually replenished with hot wine, although, strange to say, Lee neither drank nor smoked himself, being, I think, the first Chinese teetotaller I ever met with. He had some bad affection of the chest, as he scarcely ever ceased coughing and expectorating. His garrulity was inordinate; his tongue never ceased for a moment, trade being his favourite topic of conversation. He seemed, however, to have more of the peddling disposition of a huckster than the broad ideas necessary for great mercantile business. He kept continually asking the prices of our clothes, and could not understand how it was that we did not know exactly the value of every article. He told us that there were three descriptions of coal sold in Hankow, of which he procured us samples. None was good, and all was of an anthracite sort. They had evidently been taken from near the surface. The Chinese do not understand mining; and until the mechanism of the West is introduced into their country, the mineral resources can never be developed. The authorities are now so anxious to maintain friendly relations with us, that an English company would have little difficulty in arranging for the purchase or renting of these coal mines, which our host told us were three hundred miles from Hankow, there being water-carriage all the way. We sounded Lee as to his ideas regarding the success of the rebels in carrying out their declared intention of taking Hankow this year. He scoffed at the notion, declaring that as long as the large

force then in garrison was kept up, the rebels dare not even approach the place. The Tai-ping prowess in war is generally far too highly estimated, a few successes being reckoned as unanswerable evidence of their bravery and efficiency in the field. Han-yang and Wu-chang-foo have great natural strength of position, having the river on one side, and muddy flats interspersed with numerous lakes almost surrounding them at the other points. The walls of Wu-chang have been lately increased in height about five feet, and are now in very good repair. The guard-houses along them are well manned and armed; and there seemed to be an order and regularity about the dispositions for defence that I have never seen elsewhere.

In going to and from Lee's house we had a long way to travel through the town. Chairs were placed at our disposal, with numerous attendants running beside them, carrying torches, lanthorns, &c. Each chair was borne by four stout coolies, who went along at a brisk pace. In Hankow the shops are kept open until a very late hour: it was eleven o'clock when we were returning, yet all were then open and lit up. Numbers of booths lined the streets wherever their width allowed of it, the glare from whose candles lit up the places about. I was struck by the great number of fortune-tellers, around whose stalls eager groups pressed in, intent upon obtaining information as to future events. Some very large tea-houses were also open, into which people of all classes seemed crowded. The jargon of tongues, their loud laughter over thir games of dominoes, and the clouds of smoke issuing from the open doorways, made me almost fancy that I

was passing the gates of Pandemonium rather than a house of entertainment.

The viceroy of the Hu-quan province (which includes both Hoo-nan and Hoo-pe), resides in Wu-chang-foo; his name is Kwang-wan. He is a fine old Tartar, sixty-four years of age, and of really an imposing appearance. He has been viceroy for the last eight years, before which time he had been second in command of the troops in Kwan-tung. He is a general officer, which is peculiar, as civil governments are seldom given in China to military men. He is also one of the ministers of state, which constitutes him one of the highest dignitaries in the empire.

In 1858 he was not at all anxious to interchange civilities with Lord Elgin. Affairs have altered considerably since then. In 1858 we had only a treaty to depend upon in our relations with China; we have now the prestige of our victories, and of our military display within the very walls of Pekin to rely upon. This is already bearing its fruit. Our superior strength is acknowledged everywhere in the empire, and so (true to the instincts of their race), they are civil and anxious to please. Kwang-wan sent off his card to our ship by the officious little Chinese major, with the request that we would pay him a visit. As the invitation was most pressing we accepted it. So at ten o'clock A.M. the following morning, the viceroy's state barge was alongside our ship, into which we got, attended by Lee and a blue button mandarin in my friend's service, as interpreter.

The boat of state was a very fine one, of about one hundred and fifty tons burden, half of it being fitted

up as a reception room, the rest regularly decked over, where five very well made and well kept brass carronades were mounted. The wind was blowing up the river, and sent us along briskly to the quay in the suburb of Wu-chang, where was the landing-place. A large crowd had assembled to see us there, attracted no doubt to the spot by the number of sedan-chairs waiting for us, and the numerous flags, banners, and coloured cloth festooned over a wooden archway, evidently just erected as a compliment to us. Having taken our seats in the chairs provided, off we jogged along the narrow street, which, running parallel with the river, forms one of the principal thoroughfares without the city.

Upon reaching the walls of the place, we passed through a large outwork, of recent construction, where, as at all the other posts, the guard turned out as we approached, drawing up in two lines, between which we passed. We were conducted along nearly the entire extent of the river front of the city, before we entered it, which we did by a gate near the furthest river angle, crossing the formidable ditch by a temporary wooden bridge. A strong guard received us at the gate, the men of which had much difficulty in keeping back the vast mob that swarmed around the gate within, all desirous of catching even a glimpse of the "foreign devils." A numerous police, armed with twisted thongs, had much difficulty in keeping a space clear for our chairs to pass through. A large amount of the area within Wu-chang is still covered with ruins. It is much slower in recovering from the destruction caused by the rebels than Hankow. The viceroy's

residence is, however, in good repair, and does not appear to have suffered at all. It was in general design very similar to the large Yamuns of Canton, but had been constructed upon the grandest scale. The number of petty officers, and of state sedan-chairs collected without the grand entrance, indicated the presence of all the great officials within the building, who had arrived to be present at our reception. A dense crowd pressed in upon us, as we left our chairs and entered the Yamun. In consenting to pay the viceroy a visit, we had stipulated for a private reception ; so, instead of being ushered in through the main entrance, we were conducted at first into some private apartments, where we remained seated, whilst Lee had an interview with his Excellency. After the delay of a few minutes, we were invited to follow a mandarin sent to conduct us into the great man's presence. We passed through a very long courtyard, upon each side of which petty officials and servants were drawn up in long rows, all dressed in their robes of office.

At the further end of this quadrangle was a gateway, with a raised dais, neatly carpeted over, where we were met by the viceroy, who had advanced to meet us,—a great condescension on his part, as our visit was a private one. Having gone through the usual etiquette of bowing and shaking our own hands, he conducted us into his hall of reception, and motioned us to seats. The apartment was prettily ornamented and well furnished, having a rich, soft carpet spread over all the space enclosed within the two rows of chairs which stretched up along either side. Behind these stood a number of mandarins, some of the highest grades, the

grand-treasurer of the province being one of them: none were, however, allowed to sit during the interview.

Our interpreter, the blue button mandarin, upon entering the hall, prostrated himself at the viceroy's feet, bumping his forehead several times against the ground, according to the orthodox manner of "kow-towing." He was then directed to take a chair next his Excellency, who at once commenced asking a number of questions, how old we were, &c. &c. Tea was then brought in and handed to our host, who then presented it himself to each of us.

He expressed great pleasure at our visit to Hankow, and hoped that for the future the two nations, England and China, would continue upon friendly terms. He considered that all our former disagreements had been occasioned through the errors of local authorities. To prevent any such ever taking place under his government, he would be always happy to see any of our countrymen who wished to complain of anything, and he would himself then inquire into the matter. He thought that the continuance of a good understanding between the two nations was equally desirable for both. At the present time, he said, that nothing was ready for the reception of foreigners at Hankow, so that perhaps it would be as well if we would postpone establishing ourselves there for a few months. My friend replied, that the best way all such matters could be accomplished would be by our being actually present on the spot ourselves. He made particular inquiries into the manner in which we had arranged with the Pekin Government that the custom duties should be collected, and evidently did not all relish the idea of

such being paid in at Chin-kiang-foo, as this would exclude him from having any share paid into his provincial treasury. This plan had been previously agreed upon, as the only safeguard against smuggling on the part of foreign merchants.

Our interview lasted nearly an hour, during which time confections of various kinds were served to us, some of which were remarkably good. His Excellency pressed us to remain for dinner, but as we had had quite enough of sea-slugs and other horrors the previous evening at Lee's house, we declined the honour. Upon rising to take leave, our host said he wished to present us with a specimen of his poetry, as a souvenir of our visit to him. He was, we were subsequently informed, very proud of his calligraphy, for which he had become celebrated, an unusual accomplishment with Chinese generals.

A table and writing materials were accordingly brought in and placed before him. He wrote upon long strips of red paper, spotted over with gold leaf. The art of penmanship is highly esteemed by all Chinamen, and even the very characters themselves, possess, in their eyes, something approaching to the sacred about them; so much so that many priests devote their lives to searching for and collecting waste papers upon which anything has ever been written, as they seem to consider it almost a sacrilege that anything once honoured by having upon it any Chinese character should ever be defiled. His Excellency wrote rapidly with a very large brush, a servant holding out the paper, which was nearly seven feet long: he wrote two lines for each of us. This is a very common method of paying a com-

pliment to visitors, and such papers are to be seen in most Chinese houses, hung up, as we do pictures, as mementos of friends, or of past occurrences.

Upon our leaving, the old general accompanied us to the outer door, where having "chin-chinned," we bade him adieu. The crowd that had collected without the Yamun whilst our interview lasted was really prodigious. Every little available spot was occupied which a human being could manage to reach by any process of squeezing or climbing. Little boys and old men were perched upon the tops of the surrounding buildings, all gazing at us, as if we were some strange monsters with many heads. It was with the greatest difficulty that the officials who accompanied us could force a passage for our chairs through the crowd: indeed, for some time I expected mine to be upset every moment, or at least smashed in by the crushing of the swarms around it.

We left Hankow on the 10th March, and reached Shanghai on the evening of the 16th, having been delayed for four-and-twenty hours by an accident during the voyage.

APPENDIX.

Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Commerce, between her Majesty and the Emperor of China. Signed, in the English and Chinese Languages, at Tien-tsin, June 26th, 1858.

[*Ratifications exchanged at Pekin, October* 24, 1860.]

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majesty the Emperor of China, being desirous to put an end to the existing misunderstanding between the two countries, and to place their relations on a more satisfactory footing in future, have resolved to proceed to a revision and improvement of the treaties existing between them; and, for that purpose, have named as their plenipotentiaries, that is to say;

Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, the Right Honourable the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, a Peer of the United Kingdom, and Knight of the Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle;

And his Majesty the Emperor of China, the High Commissioners Kweiliang, a Senior Chief Secretary of State, styled of the East Cabinet, Captain-General of the Plain White Banner of the Mantchoo Banner Force, Superintendent-General of the administration of Criminal Law; and Hwashana, one of his Imperial Majesty's Expositors of the Classics, Mantchoo President of the Office for the regulation

of the Civil Establishment, Captain-General of the Bordered Blue Banner of the Chinese Banner Force, and Visitor of the Office of Interpretation;

Who, after having having communicated to each other their respective full powers, and found them to be in good and due form, have agreed upon and concluded the following articles: —

"Article I. — The treaty of peace and amity between the two nations, signed at Nankin on the twenty-ninth day of August in the year one thousand eight hundred and forty-two, is hereby renewed and confirmed.

"The supplementary treaty and general regulations of trade having been amended and improved, and the substance of their provisions having been incorporated in this treaty, the said supplementary treaty and general regulations of trade are hereby abrogated.

"Article II.—For the better preservation of harmony in future, her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and his Majesty the Emperor of China mutually agree that, in accordance with the universal practice of great and friendly nations, her Majesty the Queen may, if she see fit, appoint ambassadors, ministers, or other diplomatic agents to the court of Pekin; and his Majesty the Emperor of China may, in like manner, if he see fit, appoint ambassadors, ministers, or other diplomatic agents to the court of St. James's.

"Article III.—His Majesty the Emperor of China hereby agrees, that the ambassador, minister, or other diplomatic agent, so appointed by her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, may reside, with his family and establishment, permanently at the capital, or may visit it occasionally, at the option of the British Government. He shall not be called upon to perform any ceremony derogatory to him as representing the sovereign of an independent nation on a footing of equality with that of China. On the other hand, he shall use the same forms of ceremony and respect to his Majesty the Emperor as are employed by the ambassadors, ministers or diplomatic agents of her Majesty towards the sovereigns of independent and equal European nations.

"It is further agreed that her Majesty's Government may acquire at Pekin a site for building, or may hire houses for the accommodation of her Majesty's mission, and that the Chinese Government will assist it in so doing.

"Her Majesty's representative shall be at liberty to choose his own servants and attendants, who shall not be subjected to any kind of molestation whatever.

"Any person guilty of disrespect or violence to her Majesty's representative, or to any member of his family or establishment, in deed or word, shall be severely punished.

"ARTICLE IV.—It is further agreed, that no obstacle or difficulty shall be made to the free movements of her Majesty's representative, and that he, and the persons of his suite, may come and go, and travel at their pleasure. He shall, moreover, have full liberty to send and receive his correspondence, to and from any point on the sea coast which he may select; and his letters and effects shall be held sacred and inviolable. He may employ, for their transmission, special couriers, who shall meet with the same protection and facilities for travelling as the persons employed in carrying despatches for the Imperial Government, and, generally, he shall enjoy the same privileges as are accorded to officers of the same rank by the usage and consent of western nations.

"All expenses attending the diplomatic mission of Great Britain in China shall be borne by the British Government.

"ARTICLE V.—His Majesty the Emperor of China agrees to nominate one of the Secretaries of State, or a President of one of the Boards, as the high officer with whom the ambassador, minister, or other diplomatic agent of her Majesty the Queen shall transact business, either personally or in writing, on a footing of perfect equality.

"ARTICLE VI.—Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain agrees that the privileges hereby secured shall be enjoyed in her dominions by the ambassadors, ministers, or diplomatic agents of the Emperor of China, accredited to the court of her Majesty.

"ARTICLE VII.—Her Majesty the Queen may appoint one or more consuls in the dominions of the Emperor of China; and

such consul or consuls shall be at liberty to reside in any of the open ports or cities of China, as her Majesty the Queen may consider most expedient for the interests of British commerce. They shall be treated with due respect by the Chinese authorities, and enjoy the same privileges and immunities as the consular officers of the most favoured nation.

"Consuls and vice-consuls in charge shall rank with intendents of circuits; vice-consuls, acting vice-consuls, and interpreters, with prefects. They shall have access to the official residences of these officers, and communicate with them, either personally or in writing, on a footing of equality, as the interests of the public service may require.

"Article VIII.— The Christian religion, as professed by Protestants or Roman Catholics, inculcates the practice of virtue, and teaches man to do as he would be done by. Persons teaching or professing it, therefore, shall alike be entitled to the protection of the Chinese authorities, nor shall any such, peaceably pursuing their calling, and not offending against the law, be persecuted or interfered with.

"Article IX. — British subjects are hereby authorised to travel, for their pleasure or for purposes of trade, to all parts of the interior, under passports which will be issued by their consuls, and countersigned by the local authorities. These passports, if demanded, must be produced for examination in the localities passed through. If the passport be not irregular, the bearer will be allowed to proceed, and no opposition shall be offered to his hiring persons or hiring vessels for the carriage of his baggage or merchandise. If he be without a passport, or if he commit any offence against the law, he shall be handed over to the nearest consul for punishment, but he must not be subjected to any ill-usage in excess of necessary restraint. No passport need be applied for by persons going on excursions from the ports open to trade to a distance not exceeding one hundred *li*, and for a period not exceeding five days.

"The provisions of this article do not apply to crews of ships, for the due restraint of whom regulations will be drawn up by the consul and the local authorities.

"To Nankin, and other cities disturbed by persons in arms against the government, no pass shall be given, until they shall have been recaptured.

"ARTICLE X.—British merchant-ships shall have authority to trade upon the Great River (Yang-tse). The upper and lower valley of the river being, however, disturbed by outlaws, no port shall be for the present opened to trade, with the exception of Chin-kiang, which shall be opened in a year from the date of the signing of this treaty.

"So soon as peace shall have been restored, British vessels shall also be admitted to trade at such ports as far as Hankow, not exceeding three in number, as the British Minister, after consultation with the Chinese Secretary of State, may determine shall be ports of entry and discharge.

"ARTICLE XI.—In addition to the cities and towns of Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo, and Shanghai, opened by the treaty of Nankin, it is agreed that British subjects may frequent the cities and ports of New-chwang, Tang-chow, Tai-wau (Formosa), Chau-chow (Swatow), and Kiung-chow (Hainan).

"They are permitted to carry on trade with whomsoever they please, and to proceed to and fro at pleasure with their vessels and merchandise.

"They shall enjoy the same privileges, advantages, and immunities, at the said towns and ports, as they enjoy at the ports already opened to trade, including the right of residence, of buying or renting houses, of leasing land therein, and of building churches, hospitals, and cemeteries.

"ARTICLE XII.—British subjects, whether at the ports or at other places, desiring to build or open houses, warehouses, churches, hospitals, or burial-grounds, shall make their agreement for the land or buildings they require, at the rates prevailing among the people, equitably, and without exactions on either side.

"ARTICLE XIII.—The Chinese Government will place no restrictions whatever upon the employment, by British subjects, of Chinese subjects in any lawful capacity.

"ARTICLE XIV.—British subjects may hire whatever boats

they please for the transport of goods or passengers, and the sum to be paid for such boats shall be settled between the parties themselves, without the interference of the Chinese Government. The number of these boats shall not be limited, nor shall a monopoly in respect either of the boats, or of the porters or coolies engaged in carrying the goods, be granted to any parties. If any smuggling takes place in them, the offenders will, of course, be punished according to law.

"ARTICLE XV. — All questions in regard to rights, whether of property or person, arising between British subjects, shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the British authorities.

"ARTICLE XVI. — Chinese subjects who may be guilty of any criminal act towards British subjects shall be arrested and punished by the Chinese authorities, according to the laws of China.

"British subjects who may commit any crime in China shall be tried and punished by the consul, or other public functionary authorised thereto, according to the laws of Great Britain.

"Justice shall be equitably and impartially administered on both sides.

"ARTICLE XVII. — A British subject having reason to complain of a Chinese, must proceed to the consulate, and state his grievance. The consul will inquire into the merits of the case, and do his utmost to arrange it amicably. In like manner, if a Chinese have reason to complain of a British subject, the consul shall no less listen to his complaint, and endeavour to settle it in a friendly manner. If disputes take place of such a nature that the consul cannot arrange them amicably, then he shall request the assistance of the Chinese authorities, that they may together examine into the merits of the case, and decide it equitably.

"ARTICLE XVIII.—The Chinese authorities shall at all times afford the fullest protection to the persons and property of British subjects, whenever these shall have been subjected to insult or violence. In all cases of incendiarism or robbery, the local authorities shall at once take the necessary steps for the recovery of the stolen property, the suppression of dis-

order, and the arrest of the guilty parties, whom they will punish according to law.

"Article XIX.— If any British merchant-vessel, while within Chinese waters, be plundered by robbers or pirates, it shall be the duty of the Chinese authorities to use every endeavour to capture and punish the said robbers or pirates, and to recover the stolen property, that it may be handed over to the consul for restoration to the owner.

"Article XX.— If any British vessel be at any time wrecked or stranded on the coast of China, or be compellod te take refuge in any port within the dominions of the Emperor of China, the Chinese authorities, on being apprised of the fact, shall immediately adopt measures for its relief and security; the persons on board shall receive friendly treatment, and shall be furnished, if necessary, with the means of conveyance to the nearest consular station.

"Article XXI.—If criminals, subjects of China, shall take refuge in Hong-kong, or on board the British ships there, they shall, upon due requisition by the Chinese authorities, be searched for, and, on proof of their guilt, be delivered up.

"In like manner, if Chinese offenders take refuge in the houses or on board the vessels of British subjects, at the open ports, they shall not be harboured or concealed, but shall be delivered up on due requisition by the Chinese authorities, addressed to the British consul.

"Article XXII.— Should any Chinese subject fail to discharge debts incurred to a British subject, or should he fraudulently abscond, the Chinese authorities will do their utmost to effect his arrest, and enforce recovery of the debts. The British authorities will likewise do their utmost to bring to justice any British subject fraudulently absconding, or failing to discharge debts, incurred by him to a Chinese subject.

"Article XXIII.— Should natives of China who may repair to Hong-kong to trade incur debts there, the recovery of such debts must be arranged for by the English courts of justice on the spot; but should the Chinese debtor abscond, and be known to have property, real or personal, within the

Chinese territory, it shall be the duty of the Chinese authorities, on application by, and in concert with, the British consul, to do their utmost to see justice done between the parties.

"ARTICLE XXIV.—It is agreed that British subjects shall pay, on all merchandise imported or exported by them, the duties prescribed by the tariff; but in no case shall they be called upon to pay other or higher duties than are required of the subjects of any other foreign nation.

"ARTICLE XXV.—Import duties shall be considered payable on the landing of the goods, and duties of export on the shipment of the same.

"ARTICLE XXVI.—Whereas the tariff fixed by Article X. of the treaty of Nankin, and which was estimated so as to impose on imports and exports a duty at about the rate of five per cent. *ad valorem*, has been found, by reason of the fall in value of various articles of merchandise, therein enumerated, to impose a duty upon these, considerably in excess of the rate originally assumed as above to be a fair rate, it is agreed that the said tariff shall be revised, and that as soon as the treaty shall have been signed, application shall be made to the Emperor of China to depute a high officer of the Board of Revenue to meet, at Shanghai, officers to be deputed on behalf of the British Government, to consider its revision together, so that the tariff, as revised, may come into operation immediately after the ratification of this treaty.

"ARTICLE XXVII.—It is agreed that either of the high contracting parties to this treaty may demand a further revision of the tariff, and of the commercial articles of this treaty, at the end of ten years; but if no demand be made on either side within six months after the end of the first ten years, then the tariff shall remain in force for ten years more, reckoned from the end of the preceding ten years; and so it shall be at the end of each successive period of ten years.

"ARTICLE XXVIII.—Whereas it was agreed in Article X. of the treaty of Nankin, that British imports, having paid the tariff duties, should be conveyed into the interior free of all further charges, except a transit duty, the amount whereof was

not to exceed a certain percentage on tariff value ; and whereas no accurate information having been furnished of the amount of such duty, British merchants have constantly complained that charges are suddenly and arbitrarily imposed by the provincial authorities as transit duties upon produce on its way to the foreign market, and on imports on their way into the interior, to the detriment of trade ; it is agreed, that within four months from the signing of this treaty, at all ports now open to British trade, and within a similar period at all ports that may hereafter be opened, the authority appointed to superintend the collection of duties shall be obliged, upon application of the consul, to declare the amount of duties levyable on produce between the place of production and the port of shipment, and upon imports between the consular port in question and the inland markets named by the consul ; and that a notification thereof shall be published in English and Chinese for general information.

"But it shall be at the option of any British subject, desiring to convey produce purchased inland to a port, or to convey imports from a port to an inland market, to clear his goods of all transit duties, by payment of a single charge. The amount of this charge shall be levyable on exports at the first barrier they may have to pass, or, on imports, at the port at which they are landed ; and on payment thereof, a certificate shall be issued, which shall exempt the goods from all further inland charges whatsoever.

"It is further agreed, that the amount of this charge shall be calculated, as nearly as possible, at the rate of two and a-half per cent. *ad valorem*, and that it shall be fixed for each article at the conference to be held at Shanghai for the revision of the tariff.

"It is distinctly understood, that the payment of transit dues, by commutation or otherwise, shall in no way affect the tariff duties on imports or exports, which will continue to be levied separately and in full.

"Article XXIX. —British merchant-vessels, of more than one hundred and fifty tons burden, shall be charged tonnage dues at the rate of four mace per ton ; if of one hundred and

fifty tons and under, they shall be charged at the rate of one mace per ton.

"Any vessel clearing from any of the open ports of China for any other of the open ports, or for Hong-kong, shall be entitled, on application of the master, to a special certificate from the customs, on exhibition of which she shall be exempted from all further payment of tonnage dues in any open port of China, for a period of four months, to be reckoned from the date of her port clearance.

"Article XXX. — The master of any British merchant-vessel may, within forty-eight hours after the arrival of his vessel, but not later, decide to depart without breaking bulk, in which case he will not be subject to pay tonnage dues. But tonnage dues shall be held due after the expiration of the said forty-eight hours. No other fees or charges upon entry or departure shall be levied.

"Article XXXI. — No tonnage dues shall be payable on boats employed by British subjects in the conveyance of passengers, baggage, letters, articles of provision, or other articles not subject to duty, between any of the open ports, All cargo boats, however, conveying merchandise subject to duty shall pay tonnage dues once in six months, at the rate of four mace per register ton.

"Article XXXII. — The consuls and superintendents of customs shall consult together regarding the erection of beacons or lighthouses, and the distribution of buoys and light-ships, as occasion may demand.

"Article XXXIII. — Duties shall be paid to the bankers, authorised by the Chinese Government to receive the same in its behalf, either in sycee or in foreign money, according to the assay made at Canton on the thirteenth of July, one thousand eight hundred and forty-three.

"Article XXXIV. — Sets of standard weights and measures, prepared according to the standard issued to the Canton custom-house by the Board of Revenue, shall be delivered by the Superintendent of Customs to the consul at each port, to secure uniformity and prevent confusion.

"Article XXXV. — Any British merchant-vessel arriving at one of the open ports, shall be at liberty to engage the

services of a pilot to take her into port. In like manner, after she has discharged all legal dues and duties, and is ready to take her departure, she shall be allowed to select a pilot, to conduct her out of port.

"ARTICLE XXXVI. — Whenever a British merchant-vessel shall arrive off one of the open ports, the Superintendent of Customs shall depute one or more customs officers to guard the ship. They shall either live in a boat of their own, or stay on board the ship, as may best suit their convenience. Their food and expenses shall be supplied them from the custom-house, and they shall not be entitled to any fees whatever from the master or consignee. Should they violate this regulation, they shall be punished proportionately to the amount exacted.

"ARTICLE XXXVII. — Within twenty-four hours after arrival, the ship's papers, bills of lading, &c., shall be lodged in the hands of the consul, who will, within a further period of twenty-four hours, report to the Superintendent of Customs the name of the ship, her register tonnage, and the nature of her cargo. If, owing to neglect on the part of the master, the above rule is not complied with, within forty-eight hours after the ship's arrival, he shall be liable to a fine of fifty taels for every day's delay: the total amount of penalty, however, shall not exceed two hundred taels.

"The master will be responsible for the correctness of the manifest, which shall contain a full and true account of the particulars of the cargo on board. For presenting a false manifest, he will subject himself to a fine of five hundred taels; but he will be allowed to correct, within twenty-four hours after delivery of it to the customs officers, any mistake he may discover in his manifest, without incurring this penalty.

"ARTICLE XXXVIII. — After receiving from the consul the report in due form, the Superintendent of Customs shall grant the vessel a permit to open hatches. If the master shall open hatches and begin to discharge any goods without such permission, he shall be fined five hundred taels, and the goods discharged shall be confiscated wholly.

"ARTICLE XXXIX. — Any British merchant who has cargo to land or ship, must apply to the Superintendent of Customs

for a special permit. Cargo landed or shipped without such permit, will be liable to confiscation.

"Article XL. — No transhipment from one vessel to another can be made without special permission, under pain of confiscation of the goods so transhipped.

"Article XLI. — When all dues and duties shall have been paid, the Superintendent of Customs shall give a port clearance, and the consul shall then return the ship's papers, so that she may depart on her voyage.

"Article XLII. — With respect to articles subject, according to the tariff, to an *ad valorem* duty, if the British merchant cannot agree with the Chinese officer in fixing a value, then each party shall call two or three merchants to look at the goods, and the highest price at which any of these merchants would be willing to purchase them shall be assumed as the value of the goods.

"Article XLIII. — Duties shall be charged upon the net weight of each article, making a deduction for the tare, weight of congee, &c. To fix the tare on any article, such as tea, if the British merchant cannot agree with the custom-house officer, then each party shall choose so many chests out of every hundred, which being first weighed in gross, shall afterwards be tared, and the average tare upon these chests shall be assumed as the tare upon the whole; and upon this principle shall the tare be fixed upon all other goods in packages. If there should be any other points in dispute which cannot be settled, the British merchant may appeal to his consul, who will communicate the particulars of the case to the Superintendent of Customs, that it may be equitably arranged. But the appeal must be made within twenty-four hours, or it will not be attended to. While such points are still unsettled, the Superintendent of Customs shall postpone the insertion of the same in his books.

"Article XLIV. — Upon all damaged goods a fair reduction of duty shall be allowed, proportionate to their deterioration. If any dispute arise, they shall be settled in the manner pointed out in the clause of this treaty having reference to articles which pay duty *ad valorem*.

"Article XLV. — British merchants who may have im-

ported merchandise into any of the open ports and paid the duty thereon, if they desire to re-export the same, shall be entitled to make application to the Superintendent of Customs, who, in order to prevent fraud on the revenue, shall cause examination to be made by suitable officers, to see that the duties paid on such goods, as entered in the custom-house books, correspond with the representation made, and that the goods remain with their original marks unchanged. He shall then make a memorandum on the port clearance of the goods and of the amount of duties paid, and deliver the same to the merchant; and shall also certify the facts to the officers of customs of the other ports. All which being done, on the arrival in port of the vessel in which the goods are laden, everything being found on examination there to correspond, she shall be permitted to break bulk, and land the said goods, without being subject to the payment of any additional duty thereon. But if, on such examination, the Superintendent of Customs shall detect any fraud on the revenue in the case, then the goods shall be subject to confiscation by the Chinese Government.

"British merchants desiring to re-export duty-paid imports to a foreign country, shall be entitled, on complying with the same conditions as in the case of re-exportation to another port in China, to a drawback-certificate, which shall be a valid tender to the customs in payment of import or export duties.

"Foreign grain brought into any port of China in a British ship, if no part thereof has been landed, may be re-exported without hindrance.

"Article XLVI.—The Chinese authorities at each port shall adopt the means they may judge most proper to prevent the revenue suffering from fraud or smuggling.

"Article XLVII.—British merchant-vessels are not entitled to resort to other than the ports of trade declared open by this treaty. They are not unlawfully to enter other ports in China, or to carry on clandestine trade along the coasts thereof. Any vessel violating this provision, shall, with her cargo, be subject to confiscation by the Chinese Government.

"Article XLVIII. — If any British merchant-vessel be concerned in smuggling, the goods, whatever their value or nature, shall be subject to confiscation by the Chinese authorities, and the ship may be prohibited from trading further, and sent away as soon as her accounts shall have been adjusted and paid.

"Article XLIX. — All penalties enforced, or confiscations made, under this treaty, shall belong and be appropriated to the public service of the Government of China.

"Article L. — All official communications, addressed by the diplomatic and consular agents of her Majesty the Queen to the Chinese authorities, shall, henceforth, be written in English. They will for the present be accompanied by a Chinese version, but it is understood that, in the event of there being any difference of meaning between the English and Chinese text, the English Government will hold the sense as expressed in the English text to be the correct sense. This provision is to apply to the treaty now negotiated, the Chinese text of which has been carefully corrected by the English original.

"Article LI. — It is agreed, that henceforward the character 'I' 夷 (barbarian) shall not be applied to the Government or subjects of her Britannic Majesty, in any Chinese official document issued by the Chinese authorities, either in the capital or in the provinces.

"Article LII. — British ships of war coming for no hostile purpose, or being engaged in the pursuit of pirates, shall be at liberty to visit all ports within the dominions of the Emperor of China, and shall receive every facility for the purchase of provisions, procuring water, and, if occasion require, for the making of repairs. The commanders of such ships shall hold intercourse with the Chinese authorities on terms of equality and courtesy.

"Article LIII. — In consideration of the injury sustained by native and foreign commerce from the prevalence of piracy in the seas of China, the high contracting parties agree to concert measures for its suppression.

"Article LIV. — The British Government and its sub-

jects are hereby confirmed in all privileges, immunities, and advantages conferred on them by previous treaties; and it is hereby expressly stipulated, that the British Government and its subjects will be allowed free and equal participation in all privileges, immunities, and advantages that may have been, or may be hereafter, granted by his Majesty the Emperor of China to the government or subjects of any other nation.

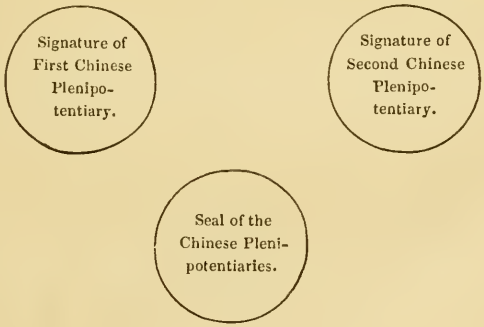
"ARTICLE LV. — In evidence of her desire for the continuance of a friendly understanding, her Majesty the Queen of Great Britian consents to include in a separate article, which shall be in every respect of equal validity with the articles of this treaty, the conditions affecting indemnity for expenses incurred and losses sustained in the matter of the Canton question.

"ARTICLE LVI. — The ratifications of this treaty, under the hand of her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majesty the Emperor of China, respectively shall be exchanged at Pekin, within a year from this day of signature.

"In token whereof, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed and sealed this treaty.

"Done at Tien-tsin, this twenty-sixth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight; corresponding with the Chinese date, the sixteenth day, fifth moon, of the eighth year of Hien-fung.

"(L. S.) ELGIN AND KINCARDINE."



CONVENTION BETWEEN HER MAJESTY AND THE EMPEROR OF CHINA, SIGNED, IN THE ENGLISH AND CHINESE LANGUAGES, AT PEKIN, OCTOBER 24, 1860.

HER MAJESTY, the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of China, being alike desirous to bring to an end the misunderstanding at present existing between their respective governments, and to secure their relations against further interruption, have for this purpose appointed plenipotentiaries, that is to say; her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine; and his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of China, his Imperial Highness the Prince of Kung; who, having met and communicated to each other their full powers, and finding these to be in proper form, have agreed upon the following convention in nine articles:

"ARTICLE I. — A breach of friendly relations having been occasioned by the act of the garrison of Takoo, which obstructed her Britannic Majesty's representative when on his way to Pekin for the purpose of exchanging the ratifications of the treaty of peace concluded at Tien-tsin in the month of June, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight, his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of China expresses his deep regret at the misunderstanding so occasioned.

"ARTICLE II. — It is further expressly declared that the arrangement entered into at Shanghai in the month of October, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight, between her Britannic Majesty's ambassador the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, and his Imperial Majesty's Commissioners Kweiliang and Hwashana, regarding the residence of her Britannic Majesty's representative in China, is hereby cancelled; and that, in accordance with Article III. of the treaty of one thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight, her Britannic Majesty's representative will henceforward reside permanently or occasionally at Pekin as her Britannic Majesty shall be pleased to decide.

"ARTICLE III. — It is agreed that the separate article of

the treaty of one thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight is hereby annulled: aad that in lieu of the amount of idemnity therein specified, his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of China shall pay the sum of eight millions of taels in the following proportions or instalments; namely: at Tien-tsin on or before the thirtieth day of November, the sum of five hundred thousand taels; at Canton, and on or before the first day of December, one thousand eight hundred and sixty, three hundred and thirty-three thousand three hundred and thirty-three taels, less the sum which shall have been advanced by the Canton authorities towards the completion of the British factory site at Shameen; and the remainder at the ports open to foreign trade, in quarterly payments, which shall consist of one-fifth of the gross revenue from customs there collected. The first of the said payments being due on the thirty-first day of December, one thousand eight hundred and sixty, for the quarter terminating on that day.

"It is further agreed that these moneys shall be paid into the hands of an officer whom her Britannic Majesty's representative shall specially appoint to receive them, and that the accuracy of the amounts shall, before payment, be duly ascertained by British and Chinese officers appointed to discharge this duty.

"In order to prevent future discussion, it is moreover declared that of the eight millions of taels herein guaranteed, two millions will be appropriated to the indemnification of the British mercantile community at Canton, for losses sustained by them, and the remaining six millions to the liquidation of war expenses.

"Article IV.—It is agreed that on the day on which this convention is signed, his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of China shall open the port of Tien-tsin to trade, and that it shall be thereafter competent to British subjects to reside and trade there under the same conditions as at any other port of China by treaty open to trade.

"Article V.—As soon as the ratifications of the treaty of one thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight shall have been exchanged, his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of China will,

by decree, command the high authorities of every province to proclaim throughout their jurisdictions, that Chinese, choosing to take service in the British colonies, or other parts beyond sea, are at perfect liberty to enter into engagements with British subjects for that purpose, and to ship themselves and their families on board any British vessel at any of the open ports of China; also, that the high authorities aforesaid shall, in concert with her Britannic Majesty's representative in China, frame such regulations for the protection of Chinese emigrating, as above, as the circumstances of the different open ports may demand.

"ARTICLE VI. — With a view to the maintenance of law and order in and about the harbour of Hong-kong his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of China agrees to cede to her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, and to her heirs and successors, to have and to hold as a dependency of her Britannic Majesty's colony of Hong-kong, that portion of the township of Cowloon in the province of Kwang-tung, of which a lease was granted in perpetuity to Harry Smith Parkes, Esquire, Companion of the Bath, a member of the Allied Commission at Canton, on behalf of her Britannic Majesty's Government, by Lan Tsung Kwang, Governor-General of the Two Kwang.

"It is further declared that the lease in question is hereby cancelled; that the claims of any Chinese to property on the said portion of Cowloon shall be duly investigated by a mixed commission of British and Chinese officers; and that compensation shall be awarded by the British Government to any Chinese whose claim shall be by the said commission established, should his removal be deemed necessary by the British Government.

"ARTICLE VII. — It is agreed that the provisions of the treaty of one thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight, except in so far as these are modified by the present convention, shall without delay come into operation as soon as the ratifications of the treaty aforesaid shall have been exchanged.

"It is further agreed that no separate ratification of the present convention shall be necessary, but that it shall take

effect from the date of its signature, and be equally binding with the treaty above-mentioned on the high contracting parties.

"ARTICLE VIII. — It is agreed that, as soon as the ratifications of the treaty of the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight shall have been exchanged, his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of China shall, by decree, command the high authorities in the capital and in the provinces to print and publish the aforesaid treaty and the present convention, for general information.

"ARTICLE IX. — It is agreed that as soon as this convention shall have been signed, the ratifications of the treaty of the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight shall have been exchanged, and an imperial decree, respecting the publication of the said convention and treaty shall have been promulgated as provided for by Article VIII. of this convention, Chusan shall be evacuated by her Britannic Majesty's troops there stationed, and her Britannic Majesty's force now before Pekin, shall commence its march towards the city of Tien-tsin, the forts of Takoo, the north coast of Shang-tung, and the City of Canton, at each or all of which places it shall be at the option of her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland to retain a force until the indemnity of eight millions of taels, guaranteed in Article III., shall have been paid.

"Done at Pekin, in the Court of the Board of Ceremonies, on the twenty-fourth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty.

"(L.S.) ELGIN AND KINCARDINE."

THE END.

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